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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

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VOLUME XXVIII

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Vol. XXVIII.

JANUARY, 1934

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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1934.

INNUMERABLE WORLDS IN PRESOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.

ZELLER argued that the 'innumerable worlds' mentioned in accounts of Anaximander's system must be an endless succession of single worlds, not (as in the Atomists' doctrine) an unlimited number of coexistent worlds scattered through infinite space, some always coming into being while others are passing away. Zeller pointed out that a succession of single worlds is grounded in the principles of the system. 'Things perish into that from which they had their birth . . . according to the order of Time,' a cycle of birth, existence, and destruction. A world ends, and the living divine stuff begets a new world to take its place. On the other hand, there is much in the system to contradict the idea of coexistent worlds. Anaximander's successors, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Diogenes, show that this idea is not a necessary consequence of the unlimitedness of the original world-stuff. Nothing in the appearances of Nature suggests it. Anaximander is a monistic hylozoist, whereas Democritus is a pluralist with his innumerable independent atoms producing, by similar processes, independent world-systems in different parts of an infinite void.

In the seventh edition (i, p. 312) Dr. Nestle has surrendered Zeller's position to Burnet's arguments (*E.G.P.*³ p. 58 ff.) in favour of innumerable coexistent worlds. Many other authorities¹ have done the same, and the Atomist doctrine is now given a place in the monistic systems of the sixth century, before Parmenides forced the physical philosophers to become pluralist. As I believe that Zeller's conclusion was sound and his masterly analysis of the evidence right in almost every point, I propose to re-examine the testimonies and Burnet's treatment of them.

The ambiguity of κόσμος and οὐρανός. The testimonies ascribe to Anaximander sometimes ἄπειροι κόσμοι, sometimes ἄπειροι οὐρανοί. In the notices derived from Theophrastus the two words are ambiguous and interchangeable. The presocratic Ionian tradition used κόσμος for the 'order' or 'arrangement' of the chief parts of the world (Fire, Air, Water, Earth), as opposed to the primitive condition before these parts became distinct, and to the unordered stuff which still surrounds the world.² So κόσμος came to mean 'world' or 'the universe.' Οὐρανός is used synonymously: Plato, *Pol.* 269D ὃν δὲ οὐρανὸν καὶ κόσμον ἐπωνομάκαμεν, cf. *Tim.* 28B; *Ar. de caelo* 280a 21 ἡ τοῦ ὅλου σύστασις ἐστὶ κόσμος καὶ οὐρανός; but Epicurus could say κόσμος ἐστὶ περιοχὴ τις οὐρανοῦ (*Ep.* ii, 88). Κόσμος can also mean a region within the world-order. At *Tim.* 55c Plato rejects ἄπειροι κόσμοι as against a limited number, but adds that it is more doubtful whether it is proper to speak of one κόσμος or of five. Plutarch (*Ep. Delph.* 11), referring to this, observes that, even if 'this κόσμος' is unique (as Aristotle also thinks), in a sense it is 'composed of five κόσμοι, one of earth, one of water, the third and fourth of air and fire, while the fifth is called οὐρανός or light or aether or the fifth substance.' Heracleon in *Plut. def. orac.* 422F defends Plato on the ground that grammarians find this doctrine in Homer, who distributes the All into five κόσμοι, namely οὐρανός, water, air, earth, Olympus. The *Epinomis* 987B says that the (eighth) sphere of the fixed stars might be pre-eminently called κόσμος, and Aristotle (*de caelo* 272a 20) uses κόσμος apparently as a synonym

¹ Dr. Nestle mentions Gilbert, *Met. Theor.* 39; Gomperz, *G.D.*³ i, 46, Überweg-Prächter § 13, p. 33. Others are Aldo Mieli, *I Prearistotelici* (1916) i, 44; J. Adam, *Religious Teachers*, 187;

A. E. Taylor, *Commentary on Timaeus*, p. 84.

² Reinhardt, *Parmenides*, 174, reviews the uses of κόσμος in the Presocratics.

for the outermost οὐρανός. At *de caelo* 278b 12 he mentions this 'extreme circumference of the universe' as a recognized meaning of οὐρανός, 'which we take to be the seat of all that is divine.' *E.N.* 1141b 1 speaks of the divine visible bodies (stars) of which the κόσμος (i.e. heavens) is composed, and the heavenly bodies are τὰ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον (*Met.* 1063a 15). Cf. *Isocr.* 4, 179, 'the whole earth which lies under the κόσμος.' Aristotle (*de caelo*, *ibid.*) also recognizes the use of οὐρανός to mean 'the body, continuous with the extreme circumference, containing the moon, sun, and certain stars (the planets); these, we say, are "in the heaven."' In the system ascribed to Philolaus (*Vors.* 32A 16), this region is called κόσμος, lying between Ολυμπος (τὸ ἀνωτάτω μέρος τοῦ περιέχοντος) and the sublunary region called οὐρανός. In later Greek κόσμος also meant the whole inhabited world (οἰκουμένη), or a region of the earth (Zeller cites Clement *Rom. ep.* 1, 20, κόσμοι for parts of the earth beyond the Ocean), or this wicked world as opposed to Heaven. Enough has been said to show that doxographers, meeting with statements derived from Theophrastus about a plurality of κόσμοι or οὐρανοί, might well be in doubt as to the meaning of either word. Being familiar with the Atomist doctrine of innumerable coexistent worlds, they would readily interpret what they found in that sense.

Simplicius' classification. At *Phys.* VIII, 1, 250b 18 Aristotle, reviewing the opinions of philosophers on the question whether motion always exists or has a beginning and end in time, says:

'Those who say that there is an infinite number of worlds, some of which are in process of becoming while others are in process of perishing, assert that there is always motion (for these processes of becoming and perishing of the worlds necessarily involve motion), whereas those who hold that there is only one world, whether everlasting or not,¹ make corresponding assumptions in regard to motion' (*Oxf. Trans.*).

Simplicius (*Phys.* 1120, 28) classifies the philosophers under the heads implied in this sentence and its context (Aristotle names only Anaxagoras and Empedocles) as follows:

A. INNUMERABLE WORLDS (and eternal motion):

Anaximander.

Leucippus, Democritus, καὶ ὕστερον οἱ περὶ Ἐπικούρου.

B. A SINGLE WORLD:

(a) One eternal world (with eternal motion):

Plato and Aristotle.

(b) A continuous series of single worlds, coming into being in succession according to certain periods of time (with uninterrupted everlasting motion):

Anaximenes.

Heracleitus.

Diogenes.

The Stoics (καὶ ὕστερον οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς).

(c) A discontinuous series of single worlds interrupted by states in which there is no κόσμος, i.e. the Sphere and the Reign of Νεῖκος (with motion interrupted by intervals of motionlessness):

Empedocles.

(d) A single world only, arising from the beginning of time (with motion that has a beginning in time):

Anaxagoras.

Archelaus.

Metrodoros of Chios (*sic*²).

¹ ἔνα ἢ μὴ δὲ in l. 22 is difficult. As Simplicius says, the words really stand for ἔνα καὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν ἢ ἔνα μὲν, οὐκ δὲ δέ. We should probably read ἔνα <ἢ δὲ> ἢ μὴ δὲ with (ap-

parently) Themistius' (*Oxf. Trans. Note*).

² The Atomist, M. of Chios, is here confused with Anaxagoras' pupil, M. of Lampsacus (Zeller 17, 1185²).

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Here, as elsewhere in Simplicius, the only philosopher, earlier than the Atomists, to whom 'innumerable worlds' are ascribed, is Anaximander.

Burnet's Arguments. (1) The first argument is based on the following passage in Aetius (*Dox.* 327):

AET. *Plac.* II, i, 2.

[PLUT.] *Epit.* ii, 1.

STOBAEUS *Ecl.* i.

Θαλῆς καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.

2 Θαλῆς Πυθαγόρας Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Ἐκφαντος Παρμενίδης Μέλισσος Ἡράκλειτος Ἀναξαγόρας Πλάτων Ἀριστοτέλης Ζήνων ἓνα τὸν κόσμον.

Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπίκουρος καὶ ὁ τούτου καθηγητὴς Μητρόδωρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν.

3 Ἀναξίμανδρος Ἀναξίμενης Ἀρχέλαος Ξενοφάνης Διογένης Λεύκιππος Δημόκριτος Ἐπίκουρος ἀπείρους κόσμους ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιαγωγήν.

Referring to this passage, Burnet says: 'The doxographic tradition proves that Theophrastus discussed the views of all the early philosophers as to whether there was one world or an infinite number, and there can be no doubt that, when he ascribed "innumerable worlds" to the Atomists, he meant coexistent and not successive worlds. Now, if he had classed two such different views under one head, he would have been careful to point out in what respect they differed, and there is no trace of any such distinction. On the contrary, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaos, Xenophanes, Diogenes, Leukippos, Demokritos, and Epicurus are all mentioned together as holding the doctrine of "innumerable worlds" on every side of this one, and the only distinction is that, while Epicurus made the distances between these worlds unequal, Anaximander said all the worlds were equidistant.¹ Zeller rejected this evidence on the ground that we can have no confidence in a writer who attributes "innumerable worlds" to Anaximenes, Archelaos, and Xenophanes. With regard to the first two, I hope to show that the statement is correct, and that it is at least intelligible in the case of the last. In any case, the passage comes from Aetios, and there is no reason for doubting that it is derived from Theophrastus, though the name of Epicurus has been added later' (*E.G.P.*³ 58).

Burnet here commits himself to the view that Theophrastus correctly attributed innumerable worlds in the Atomists' sense to Anaximander, Anaximenes, Archelaos, Xenophanes, and Diogenes, and did this in a reasoned discussion carefully distinguishing the views of all the early philosophers. But Aetius has only two classes: (1) one world, (2) innumerable worlds. To which class should be assigned a philosopher who holds a succession of innumerable single worlds? He cannot be classed at all without putting 'two different views under one head.' Thus the one-world group (in Stobaeus) includes Empedocles with Plato and Aristotle, who believed in a unique everlasting world. A list of names like this chapter in Aetius does not prove that Theophrastus had any separate 'discussion' of all the philosophers' views on the number of worlds. If anything, it proves that he had not; for the two classes obliterate the important distinction between coexistent and successive worlds. To draw up a list of names attached to various doctrines 'about God,' 'about matter,' 'about the cosmos,' etc., is the unintelligent device of a compendium-writer, who looked through Theophrastus' history and picked out the statements he thought relevant under each head. The probability is that in this case wherever he found either of the ambiguous phrases, ἀπείροι κόσμοι or ἀπείροι οὐρανοί, he put down the name of the philosopher with the Atomists. The authority of Theophrastus cannot

¹ Aet. II, 1, 8. This distinction between below (p. 12).
Anaximander and Epicurus will be discussed

be assumed for such a list as against the careful and discriminating classification of Simplicius.

Further, neither Zeller nor Burnet seems to have noticed that in this chapter of Aetius the Plutarch extract contradicts Stobaeus. Plutarch's one-world group includes 'Thales and his successors' (καὶ οἱ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, cf. Aet. iii, 9, 1, and elsewhere). Who these are is stated earlier. Plutarch 1, 3 (= Aet. 1, 3, 7), after describing the views of Anaximander, Anaximenes, Anaxagoras, and Archelaus, says: οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐφεξῆς ἀλλήλοις ταῖς διαδοχαῖς γινόμενοι τὴν λεχθεῖσαν Ἴωνικὴν συμπληροῦσι φιλοσοφίαν ἀπὸ θάλαττος.¹ The Stobaeus extract, on the other hand, assigns one of these successors (Anaxagoras) to the one-world group, all the rest to the innumerable-world group. Which of the two extracts is to be taken as 'derived from Theophrastus'? Comparison with Simplicius' classification yields the following result, so far as the Ionians are concerned:

AETIUS.		
PLUTARCH.	STOBAEUS.	SIMPLICIUS.
<i>One World:</i>		
Thales.	Thales.	(Thales not mentioned.)
Anaximander.		
Anaximenes.		Anaximenes.
Anaxagoras.	Anaxagoras.	Anaxagoras.
Archelaus.		Archelaus.
		Diogenes.
<i>Innumerable Worlds:</i>		
	Anaximander.	Anaximander.
	Anaximenes.	
	Archelaus.	
	Diogenes.	

Simplicius supports Plutarch in the case of every Ionian, except Anaximander. The evidence with regard to the other Ionians will be considered presently.

(2) Burnet continues, quoting one sentence from Simplicius' classification summarized above: 'This' (i.e. that the Stobaeus extract is 'derived from Theophrastus, though the name of Epicurus has been added later') 'is confirmed by what Simplicius says:

Those who assumed innumerable worlds, e.g. Anaximander, Leukippos, Demokritos, and, at a later date, Epicurus, held that they came into being and passed away *ad infinitum*, some always coming into being and others passing away.

It is practically certain that this too comes from Theophrastus through Alexander.'

Why is this 'practically certain'? Simplicius gives his classification in a continuous passage, presumably all based on one source. No source is acknowledged either directly or by implication. Alexander is not mentioned until Simplicius goes on afterwards (11121, 28) to controvert his view that Plato's world existed from the beginning of time, but was preceded by a chaos. Since this view contradicts Simplicius' classification of Plato, it is not likely that Simplicius got the classification 'through Alexander.'² If he had found, either in a quotation from Theophrastus by

¹ Cf. D. L. I, 14 Θαλοῦ μὲν γὰρ Ἀναξίμανδρος, οὗ Ἀναξίμενης, οὗ Ἀναξαγόρας, οὗ Ἀρχέλαος, οὗ Σωκράτης, κτλ.

² Diels' conclusion (Dox. 113) that Simplicius had never seen Theophrastus' Φυσικῶν Δόξαι because he normally quotes extracts he found

in Alexander is disputed by Reinhardt, *Parmenides*, 93, who points out that Simplicius in the same way regularly takes quotations of Eudemos from Alexander, but where he has occasion to disagree with Alexander copies out a long passage directly from Eudemos.

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Alexander or in Theophrastus himself, an explicit statement that Anaximander had coexistent (as distinct from successive) worlds, he would not have felt the doubt he twice expresses by *δοκεῖ*. At *de caelo* 202, 14, in contrast with believers in a single world (including Anaximenes) he says: οἱ δὲ καὶ τῷ πλήθει ἀπείρους κόσμους, ὡς Ἀναξίμανδρος μὲν ἀπειρον τῷ μεγέθει τὴν ἀρχὴν θέμενος ἀπείρους ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῷ πλήθει κόσμους ποιεῖν δοκεῖ, Δεύκιππος δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτος, κτλ., and at 615, 17 καὶ κόσμους δὲ ἀπείρους καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κόσμων ἐξ ἀπείρου τοῦ τοιούτου στοιχείου ὑπέθετο, ὡς δοκεῖ. As Burnet remarks in another context (p. 333), 'the words ὡς δοκεῖ do not imply assent to the view introduced by them; indeed they are constantly used in reference to beliefs which the writer does not accept.'

Burnet has singled out one sentence from Simplicius' classification without mentioning that the rest of it contradicts Stobaeus with regard to the other Ionians. There is precisely as much, or as little, ground for saying that the whole classification (except the mentions of Epicurus and the Stoics) comes from Theophrastus as for saying this of the sentence quoted. All we can infer is that Simplicius, when he drew up the classification in the *Physics*, followed some unknown source which classed Anaximander, alone among the Ionians, with the Atomists. Earlier, writing on the *De caelo*, he had expressed a doubt whether this was correct. If the Stobaeus extract faithfully represents Theophrastus, then Simplicius' source did not.

Before considering Burnet's further arguments about Anaximander, I will review the evidence about the other Ionians to see whether it supports Stobaeus or Plutarch.

Anaximenes. Burnet (p. 78) admits that the evidence for coexistent worlds in Anaximenes is 'far less satisfactory.' There seems to be none, except the Stobaeus extract. Zeller (1⁷, 329) held that the ἀπειροὶ κόσμοι attributed to Anaximenes by Stobaeus were either (1) the stars or (2) a succession of single worlds. (1) The stars in this system 'were produced from the earth by moisture rising from it. When this is rarefied, fire comes into being and the stars are composed of the fire thus raised aloft' (Hippol. 1, 7, 5). Unquestionably the stars are parts of our world. It is possible that Anaximenes (like Anaximander¹) spoke of them as ἀπειροὶ οὐρανοί and as divine; they can be identified with the 'gods which arose from the air' (Hippol. 1, 7, 1 and Aug. *de civ. Dei* viii, 2). (2) If Anaximenes spoke of ἀπειροὶ κόσμοι, Zeller's second suggestion is more probable. Simplicius *de caelo* 202, 11 explicitly contrasts Anaximenes as having a single world with those who believed in τῷ πλήθει ἀπείρους κόσμους, namely Anaximander (*δοκεῖ*) and Leucippus and Democritus. This agrees with Simplicius' classification quoted above: *Phys.* 1121, 12 γενητὸν δὲ καὶ φθαρτὸν τὸν ἕνα κόσμον ποιοῦσιν, ὅσοι αἰ μὲν φασιν εἶναι κόσμον, οὐ μὴν τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ, ἀλλ' ἄλλοτε ἄλλον γινόμενον κατὰ τινος χρόνων περιόδους, ὡς Ἀναξίμενης τε καὶ Ἡράκλειτος καὶ Διογένης καὶ ὕστερον οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στωᾶς. Referring to this sentence (only) Burnet says: 'Simplicius, indeed, takes another view; but he may have been misled by a Stoic authority. The passage from the *Placita*' (i.e. the Stobaeus extract) 'is of higher authority than this from Simplicius. . . . That Simplicius is following a Stoic authority is suggested by the words καὶ ὕστερον οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Στωᾶς.' This last statement is arbitrary. If these words point to a Stoic authority, why do not the words καὶ ὕστερον οἱ περὶ Ἐπίκουρον point to an Epicurean authority? Yet they occur in that earlier sentence, of which Burnet said (p. 59) that it is 'practically certain that this too comes from Theophrastus through Alexander.' There is not the slightest reason to derive one sentence in the classification from Theophrastus, another from 'a Stoic authority.' Nor is it clear why any Stoic should single out Anaximenes and Diogenes alone among the Ionians for 'accommodation' to the Stoic doctrine.

The conclusion is that the Stobaeus extract is the sole ground for attributing coexistent worlds to Anaximenes. That interpretation of the phrase ἀπειροὶ κόσμοι is

¹ See below, p. 10.

contradicted by Plutarch and Simplicius, whose evidence is in agreement if Anaximenes held that there is only one world at a time but 'not always the same world.'

Anaxagoras. The testimony that Anaxagoras believed in a unique world which began to exist at a certain moment is overwhelming. In Aetius the Plutarch and Stobaeus extracts are here in agreement. They are supported by (1) *Ar. Phys.* VIII, 1, where Anaxagoras and Empedocles are named as having *ένα κόσμον* in contrast with *ἄσσοι ἀπείρους κόσμους εἶναι φασιν*; (2) Simplicius on that passage (*Phys.* 1121, 22); (3) Aristotle, *Phys.* 187a 23: Both Empedocles and Anaxagoras separate out other things from their mixture; but they differ in that Empedocles makes this happen periodically, Anaxagoras only once (*τὸν δὲ ἀπαξ*). Cf. *Simplic. Phys.* 154, 28; (4) *Simplicius Phys.* 178, 25 *ἄσσοι δὲ ένα τὸν κόσμον φασιν, ὥσπερ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς* in express contrast with *ἄσσοι κόσμους ἀπείρους ἐπέθεντο ὥσπερ Δημόκριτος*. All these passages agree with Aristotle's statement at *Phys.* 250b 24: Anaxagoras held that the whole of his mixture was at rest for an indefinite time, and then at some moment motion was originated by *Nous* to form our world. Eudemus (*Simplic. Phys.* 1185, 9) objected not only to Anaxagoras' saying that motion had a beginning, but also to his not explaining whether motion will always continue or come to an end: *τί γὰρ κωλύει, φησί (Εὐδήμος, frag. 71), δοῦναι ποτὲ τῷ νῷ στήσαι πάντα χρήματα, καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος εἶπε κινῆσαι*; Eudemus evidently understood that at some moment *Nous* started a motion of 'all things' and might at some future moment arrest it. The whole tenor of the fragments accords with Aristotle and Eudemus, whose view is incompatible with the Atomist conception of countless worlds constantly arising and perishing at *different moments* in an *eternal* and uncaused motion of atoms all over space.

In spite of all this evidence, Burnet (p. 269) says: 'That Anaxagoras adopted the ordinary Ionian theory of innumerable worlds is clear from fr. 4, which we have no right to regard as other than continuous.' Frag. 4 runs as follows:

These things being so, we must think that in all the things that come together¹ there are many things of all sorts and (or namely, *καὶ*) seeds of all things (*σπέρματα πάντων χρημάτων*) having all sorts of shapes and colours and tastes; and that men were formed and all the other creatures² that have life; and that these men have inhabited cities and cultivated fields *ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῶν*, and that they have Sun and Moon³ and the rest *ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῶν*, and that the earth brings forth for them many things of all sorts, of which they gather the most useful into their dwelling and use them.

Such is my account of the separating-off, that it will not be only *παρ' ἡμῶν* that things are separated off, but also elsewhere (*ἄλλῃ*).

But before these things were separated off, all things being together, not even any colour was distinguishable; for that was prevented by the confusion of all things, of the moist and the dry and the hot and the cold and the bright and the dark, there being in it both much earth and a multitude of innumerable seeds in no way like one another; for none of the others either is like any other. These things being so, we must think that all things are in the sum of things (*ἐν τῷ σύμπαντι*).

Burnet continues: 'The words "that it was not only with us that things were separated off, but elsewhere too" can only mean that *Nous* has caused a rotatory movement in more parts of the boundless mixture than one. Aetios certainly includes Anaxagoras among those who held there was only one world; but this testimony cannot be considered of the same weight as that of the fragments. Zeller's reference of the words to the moon is very improbable. Is it likely that anyone would say that the inhabitants of the moon "have a sun and moon as with us"?'

¹ *συγκρινόμενους*. Anaxagoras, having reduced all so-called 'becoming' to *σύνκρισις* (Frag. 17), uses *συγκρινόμενους* for *γίγνόμενους*. It covers all the things ordinarily said to 'come into being'—the world, its parts, and living things.

² *ζῷα*, including plants, which have conscious-

ness, pleasure and pain (*Vors.* 46a 116, 117).

³ For *ἥλιος* and *σελήνη* without the article cf. Plato, *Tim.* 38c *ἥλιος καὶ σελήνη καὶ πέντε ἄλλα ἄστρα*, *Laws* 898d *ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄστρα*, where there is no question of more than one sun or moon.

¹ Cf. the *The* 242d (the *ἔθνος*).
² *Phys.* διάκρισιν

Burnet has here thrown over the Stobaeus extract, although on p. 59 there was 'no reason for doubting that it is derived from Theophrastus.' Its testimony 'cannot be considered of the same weight as that of the fragments.' 'The fragments' means Burnet's interpretation of the words οὐκ ἂν παρ' ἡμῖν μόνον ἀποκριθείη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλῃ in Frag. 4. He simply asserts that this can only mean that there are other, and indeed innumerable, worlds besides ours.

I agree that 'elsewhere' cannot mean the moon. Simplicius' discussions of the fragment prove that the context did not mention the moon or other worlds, and threw no further light on the meaning of 'elsewhere.' The fragment as a whole tells us that 'all the things that come together contain many things of all sorts and (ὁρ namely) seeds (σπέρματα) of all things,' and proceeds at once to mention the origin of life and civilization 'elsewhere,' ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν. It then goes back to the early stage of evolution before living things were 'separated off,' when nothing was yet visibly distinct in the confusion of all things, which contained 'much earth' and a 'multitude of innumerable σπέρματα.'

Any ordinary Greek, reading this passage, would take σπέρματα to mean the seeds of plants and animals; and any doubt about this would be removed by the next statement, that men and all other living creatures were formed; they grew, he would suppose, from the seeds just mentioned. He would understand παρ' ἡμῖν in its ordinary sense, 'in our part of the world,' and ἄλλῃ as meaning 'in other parts of the world.' The whole paragraph would naturally convey that life has arisen from seeds independently in other parts of the world as well as in ours. That the unsophisticated reader did so understand it, we know from Simplicius. Where he defends his own impossible identification of 'elsewhere' with the intelligible world of Neoplatonism, this is the only other possible interpretation he mentions: 'Some may perhaps think that Anaxagoras is comparing other parts of the earth with the inhabited region in our part of the world.'² Is there any real objection to this natural interpretation?

With regard to σπέρματα πάντων χρημάτων, the ancients, in describing Anaxagoras' system, use σπέρματα as a synonym for the invisible particles (ἀόρατα ὁμοιομερῆ) which are the elements of all things.³ In this fragment the word may cover that sense; but the immediately following mention of the formation of living creatures would be abrupt unless Anaxagoras were thinking specially of the peculiar class of seeds from which life arose. These were complex germs containing particles of all the homoeomerous tissues which develop out of the germ as the plant or animal grows, and (it may be conjectured) a portion of Mind which distinguishes such a germ from casual agglomerations of particles and enables it to live and grow.⁴ These germs were formed in the air (for plants) or the aether (for animals). Washed down by the rain, they grew in the warm moist earth.⁵ If Anaxagoras was thinking specially of such seeds, that may explain why 'earth' and 'seeds' are mentioned in the last paragraph describing the early stage before living things arose. The multitude of living seeds was still in the air and aether towards the outer part of the eddy; the denser particles were beginning to come together towards the centre, to form the Earth, which was later to receive and nourish those seeds.

Zeller (17, 1239) rejected this simple explanation because Anaxagoras' flat earth and his belief in absolute 'up' and 'down' would not admit of antipodes, of whom it might naturally be said that 'they have Sun and Moon and the rest as in our part of the world.' But is it true that no other part of the earth could be meant? The fifth-

¹ Cf. e.g. Plato, *Phaedo* 64B Simmias speaks of the Thebans as οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἄνθρωποι. *Soph.* 242D (the Eleatic Stranger), τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν Ἑλεατικὸν ἔθνος.

² *Phys.* 35, 9 δόξει μὲν ὥσως τισὶν οὐ πρὸς νοερὰν διάκρισιν τὴν ἐν γενέσει παραβάλλειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς

τόπους ἄλλους τῆς γῆς τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν συγκρίνειν οἰκισιν.

³ E.g. Ar. *de caelo* 302a 28, and Simplic. *ad loc.*

⁴ See F. M. Cornford, *Anaxagoras' Theory of Matter*, *C.Q.* xxiv (1930), p. 18.

⁵ R.P. § 160.

century Greeks thought of the *οικουμένη* (ή παρ' ἡμῖν οἰκησις, Simplic.) as the lands round the Mediterranean basin. In the *Phaedo* 109B Socrates controverts this belief. The earth, he says, is very large, and 'we who dwell between the Phasis and the Pillars of Heracles inhabit only a small part, living round the sea like ants or frogs round a marsh; many other men dwell elsewhere in many similar places' (πολλοὺς ἄλλοθι ἄλλους ἐν πολλοῖσι τοιοῦτοις τόποις οἰκεῖν). All over the earth there are many hollows of every shape and size, where water, mist, and air collect. Wytttenbach (*Phaedo*, 1830, p. 306) suggested that Anaxagoras had contributed to Plato's picture of the hollows on the earth's surface, though Plato's earth is spherical. Burnet (on 109B 3) adds Archelaus, who followed Anaxagoras closely, as appears from the following comparison:

ANAXAGORAS.

HIPPOL. I, 8, 5 (*Vors.* A 42).

εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν (τὴν γῆν) κοίλην καὶ ἔχειν ὕδωρ ἐν τοῖς κοιλώμασιν.

12 ζῶα δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν ἐν ὑγρῷ γενέσθαι. (Cf. D.L. ii, 9 ζῶα γενέσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεωδοῦς.)

μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων.

Frag. 4 καὶ ἀνθρώπους τε συμπαγῆναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα ὅσα ψυχὴν ἔχει, καὶ τοῖς γ' ἀνθρώποισιν εἶναι πόλεις συνψηκμένas καὶ ἔργα κατεσκευασμένα, ὥσπερ παρ' ἡμῖν . . .

If Anaxagoras meant that life arose independently in other hollows where water had formed seas,¹ it would not be superfluous to tell the reader that the men there 'have Sun and Moon and the rest, as in our parts.' In Euripides, *Hippol.* 3 Aphrodite speaks of all mankind as dwelling between the Pillars of Heracles and the Euxine, φῶς ὀρῶντες ἡλίου, as if the sun rose just beyond Colchis and set outside Gibraltar *solisque cubilia Gades*.² Xenophanes (*Vors.* A 41a = Aet. II, 24, 9) had declared that there were 'many suns and moons corresponding to the various climes or sections or zones of the earth, and that at a certain season the disk (of the sun) is banished εἰς τινα ἀποτομὴν τῆς γῆς οὐκ οἰκουμένην ὑφ' ἡμῶν. When astronomical knowledge was far more advanced, a poet could still speak of Europe and Asia as 'seeing other suns' than that of transequatorial Africa.³ Anaxagoras means that men elsewhere have *our* sun and stars, not different suns or no sun at all.

We have not the previous context of the fragment, and we cannot be certain that the copy of Anaxagoras used by Simplicius (on which we entirely depend) had not suffered the loss of some words which would have made the whole seem less abrupt.

Archelaus. 'Archelaos,' says Burnet (360), 'sought to bring Anaxagoreanism nearer to the old Ionic views. . . . This twofold relation of Archelaos to his predecessors makes it very credible that, as Aetios' (i.e. the Stobaeus extract) 'tells us, he believed in innumerable worlds; both Anaxagoras and the older Ionians upheld that doctrine.'

¹ Cf. Alex. in *Meteor.* p. 671 (Hayduck) = *Vors.* 51A 17, οἱ φυσικοὶ regard the sea as a portion of the moisture round the earth remaining ἐν τοῖς κοίλοις τῆς γῆς τόποις. For the relation of these hollows on the earth's surface to hollows

ARCHELAUS.

HIPPOL. I, 9, 4 (*Vors.* A 4).

λίμνην γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον αἶτε κύκλῳ μὲν οὖσαν ὑψήλην, μέσον δὲ κοίλην.

5 περὶ δὲ ζῶων φησὶν ὅτι θερμαινομένης τῆς γῆς τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ κάτω μέρει, ὅπου τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐμίσγετο, ἀνεφαίνετο τὰ τε ἄλλα ζῶα πολλὰ καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἅπαντα τὴν αὐτὴν δίαταν ἔχοντα ἐκ τῆς ἰλῆος τρεφόμενα (ἦν δὲ ὀλιγοχρόνια). ὕστερον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐξ ἀλλήλων γένεσις συνέστη. καὶ διεκρίθησαν ἄνθρωποι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ ἡγέμενας καὶ νόμους καὶ τέχνας καὶ πόλεις καὶ τὰ ἄλλα συνέστησαν.

inside the earth see Gilbert, *Met. Theor.* 285 ff.

² Statius, *silv.* III, 1, 183.

³ Luc. IX, 872. *Eurofam alios soles Asiamque videntem.*

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The Stobaeus extract is the sole evidence. This is contradicted by Plutarch and by Simplicius (*Phys.* 1121, 22), who, as we should expect, groups Archelaus with Anaxagoras as having a single world with a beginning in time. Archelaus reproduced Anaxagoras' cosmogony with minor modifications. As we have seen, it was incompatible with innumerable coexistent worlds.

Diogenes. 'We are prepared,' says Burnet (p. 357), 'to find that Diogenes held the doctrine of innumerable worlds; for it was the old Milesian belief, and had just been revived by Anaxagoras and Leucippos. He is mentioned with the rest in the *Placita*' (i.e. Stobaeus); 'and if Simplicius [*Phys.* 1121, 2] classes him and Anaximenes with Herakleitos as holding the Stoic doctrine of successive formations and destructions of a single world, he has probably been misled by the "accommodators."'

The suggestion that Simplicius was misled by 'a Stoic authority' has already been dealt with (p. 5). D.L. ix, 57 κόσμους ἀπείρους, and [Plut.] *Strom.* 12 κινεῖσθαι δὲ τὰ πάντα, ἀπείρους τε εἶναι τοὺς κόσμους may well mean an endless succession of single worlds. Zeller (1⁷, 352) concludes that Diogenes held this, since his system shows that he could only conceive the totality of simultaneous things as one whole limited in space. Diogenes, in any case, stands apart from the other Ionians, as an eclectic who followed partly Anaxagoras and partly Leucippus.¹ If he did take 'innumerable worlds' from Leucippus, that would be no proof that the doctrine existed in the Ionian tradition.

The conclusion seems to be that, setting aside Anaximander, the doctrine of coexistent worlds, so far from being 'the ordinary Ionian theory,' was foreign to that tradition. Burnet has followed the Stobaeus extract wherever it is contradicted by Plutarch and Simplicius and is probably wrong, and thrown it over in the one case (Anaxagoras) where it is certainly right.

Xenophanes. The remaining name in Stobaeus is Xenophanes. Burnet says (p. 124), 'It seems impossible to doubt that Theophrastos attributed a belief in "innumerable worlds" to Xenophanes.' As evidence for this he produces, besides the Stobaeus extract, Diog. L. ix, 19 φησὶ δὲ τέτταρα εἶναι τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα, κόσμους δὲ ἀπείρους, οὐ παραλλακτοὺς δέ (BPF. Diels; 'not overlapping in time,' Hicks: ἀπαρλλάκτους δέ FP², 'precisely similar'—the Stoic doctrine). Whichever reading we adopt, an endless succession of single worlds must be meant, not coexistent worlds. Further, as Burnet admits, Diogenes' authority here is the biographical compendium (*Dox.* 168), which is 'full of apocryphal anecdotes and doubtful statements' (p. 36). The attribution of 'four elements' to Xenophanes casts further doubt on the whole of this statement, which Zeller (1⁷, 667) rejects as certainly incorrect. Besides this there is nothing but Hippol. 1, 14, where fossils are adduced as evidence that 'all mankind' are destroyed when the earth has been carried down into the sea and turned to mud. Mankind then starts afresh, καὶ τοῦτο πᾶσι τοῖς κόσμοις γίνεσθαι [καταβάλλειν]. Diels (*Dox.* 566) reads καὶ ταύτην πᾶσι τοῖς κόσμοις γίνεσθαι μεταβολήν, comparing Ar. *Meteor.* 352a 17 where Aristotle argues that floods like Deucalion's are not (as some think) world-wide, but only local. Κόσμοι here might mean successive 'arrangements' in which dry land and sea are distinct. The point may be that destructions of mankind are *always* due to flood, not alternately to flood and fire, as some supposed.² Or the κόσμοι may be those other 'climes, sections or zones of the earth' which have suns and moons of their own (Aet. II, 24, 9). The world-order as a whole would not be affected.³ At 2 Peter 3, 6 it is said of Noah's flood, ὁ τότε κόσμος ὕδατι κατακλυσθεὶς ἀπώλετο. This does not mean that the universe or the world was destroyed, but only that water covered the dry land and life perished. Better evidence must be produced before we can attribute innumerable coexistent

¹ Theophr. (*Dox.* 477).

² Cf. Plato, *Tim.* 22a, the Deucalion and Phaethon myths. Fossils would not survive a

destruction by fire.

³ Aet. II, 4, 11. Ξενοφάνης Παρμενίδης Μέλισσος ἀγένητον καὶ αἰδίων καὶ ἀφθαρτον τὸν κόσμον.

worlds to the philosopher who 'having regard to the whole οὐρανός said, the One is the (only) God,' and was spoken of by Plato and Aristotle as the predecessor of the Eleatic Monists. Could Parmenides have been 'said to be the disciple' of a man who believed in innumerable worlds?

Anaximander continued. We may now return to Anaximander. The Stobaeus extract has been thoroughly discredited, for Plutarch and Simplicius agree that the Ionians after Anaximander did not hold the Atomist doctrine. So far, then, there remains only, as against Plutarch, Simplicius' statement, qualified by some doubt, attributing it to Anaximander alone among the Ionians. That Anaximander, in the sixth century—the century of Monism—should have stated the doctrine, and that it should have been ignored both by the monistic critics of the Ionian tradition and by all his direct successors in the century of pluralism, is very improbable. We will now consider whether Burnet's remaining arguments outweigh this improbability.

(3) Burnet continues: 'We come next to a very important statement which Cicero has copied from Philodemus, the author of the Epicurean treatise on Religion found at Herculaneum, or perhaps from the immediate source of that work. "Anaximander's opinion was," he makes Velleius say, "that there were gods who came into being, rising and passing away at long intervals, and that these were the innumerable worlds";¹ and this must clearly be taken with the statement of Aetios that, according to Anaximander, the "innumerable heavens" were gods. Now it is much more natural to understand the 'long intervals' as intervals of space than as intervals of time;² and, if that is right, we have a perfect agreement among our authorities.'

Let us first disentangle the passage in Aetius to which Burnet refers:

AET. I, 7 (περὶ θεοῦ), 12.

PLUT. *Epit.* I, 7.

STOB. *Ecl.* I, 1.

'Αναξίμανδρος τοὺς ἀστέρας οὐρανίους θεούς.³

'Αναξίμανδρος ἀπεφάνητο τοὺς ἀείρους οὐρανούς θεούς.

'Anaximander declared that the innumerable heavens were gods.' The only 'heavens' in Anaximander's system are the Sun, Moon, and stars. He had very daringly broken with the old notion of a single Οὐρανός, the 'starry Heaven,' which was also a god. In place of it remain the heavenly bodies, each consisting of a ring of fire enclosed in opaque mist, from which the fire escapes at the points we see in the sky. These rings are 'innumerable,' and they would be called οὐρανοί as naturally as that word was used later of the planetary spheres. The divinity of the heavenly bodies was, as Zeller remarks, a deeply rooted belief, both popular and philosophic. The reading ἀστέρας for ἀείρους in Plutarch may be a gloss correctly interpreting οὐρανούς. Aetius' statement is satisfactory and in harmony with a possible interpretation of Anaximenes' 'gods which arose from the air' (above p. 5). In the endless succession of worlds the innumerable heavens would 'come into being

¹ Cic. *Nat. D.* i, 25. Anaximandri autem opinio est nativos esse deos longis intervallis orientis occidentisque, eosque innumerabilis esse mundos. Sed nos deum nisi sempiternum intellegere non possumus.

² It is natural to suppose that Cicero found διαστήματα in his Epicurean source, and that is a technical term for the *intermundia* (Burnet's note).

³ Plutarch is corrected by Diels (*Dox.* II and 302) to conform with Stobaeus, on the strength

of Ps.-Galen ἀείρους νοῦς (i.e. οὐνοῦς) and a remark of Cyril's, who after the mention of Democritus says, 'Αναξίμανδρος δὲ οἶμον ὥσπερ ἑτέραν ὁλοτρόπως ἰὼν θεὸν διορίζεται τοὺς ἀείρους κόσμους οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι λέγων. Here κόσμους has been substituted for οὐρανούς 'inferioris aetatis usu' (Diels, p. 11). Cyril, taking it to mean innumerable (coexistent) worlds, is naturally puzzled as to what Anaximander could have meant by calling such things 'god.' The Stob. extract may be taken as the correct text of Aetius.

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φθορὰ
κτλ.'

Here
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ἀπείρο
natur
becau

¹ Cf.
sub qu
qui plu
tensio.
quaesi
bilia.

and pass away at long intervals' (of time). If we substitute *caelos*¹ (*οὐρανοὺς*) for *mundos* (*κόσμους*) in Velleius' statement, and understand *intervallis* of intervals of time, then 'nativos esse deos longis intervallis orientis occidentisque, eosque innumerabilis esse *caelos*,' would exactly agree with Aetius. But there will then be no reference to coexistent worlds.

That Cicero's Epicurean source had *κόσμους* and understood coexistent worlds, I do not deny. He was misled by the confusion of *οὐρανοί* with *κόσμοι* which we can trace in the testimonies. A close examination of the doxographic tradition shows that the further it gets from Aristotle and Theophrastus, the oftener *κόσμοι* is substituted for *οὐρανοί* and the more is heard of *ἄπειροι κόσμοι*. For example, a group of testimonies derived from Theophrastus mentions 'the heavens and the *κόσμος* (or *κόσμοι*) in them':

THEOPHR. frag. 2.

HIPPOL. I, 6, 1.

φύσιν τινὰ τοῦ ἀπείρου, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμον (τοὺς . . . κόσμους Ritter).

SIMPLIC. *Phys.* 24, 13.

ἐτέραν τινὰ φύσιν ἄπειρον, ἐξ ἧς ἅπαντας γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους.

Diels (*Dox.* 133) accepts Simplicius' last clause as representing Theophrastus' text. The 'heavens' being the rings of the heavenly bodies, the *κόσμος* or *κόσμοι* in them may be the region or regions of the world-order framed by them, or a succession of worlds so framed. But in [Plut.] *Strom.* 2 the phrase has been expanded: τὸ ἄπειρον . . . ἐξ οὗ δὴ φησι τοὺς τε οὐρανοὺς ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπείρους ὄντας κόσμους. Here ἅπαντας has been transferred from οὐρανοὺς to κόσμους, the *κόσμοι* are no longer in the *οὐρανοί*, and they have become 'innumerable.' The whole description is thus construed in the Atomist sense, which is not suggested, but actually excluded, by the text of Theophrastus as reproduced by Hippolytus and Simplicius.

Compare again the same statement as it appears in Theophrastus and Aetius:

THEOPHR. 2 (SIMPLIC. *Phys.* 24, 13.

Dox. 476).

ἀρχὴν τε καὶ στοιχείον εἶρηκε τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον. . . .

ἐξ ἧς ἅπαντας γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους. 'ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶ τοῖς ὄσσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι² κατὰ τὸ χρεών, κτλ.'

AET. I, 3, 3.

φησι τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον.

ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι. διδὲ καὶ γενᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους καὶ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται.

Here the *οὐρανοί* have disappeared in Aetius; only the *ἄπειροι κόσμοι* are left.

All that the Cicero passage shows is that his authority, encountering the phrase *ἀπείρους οὐρανοὺς* (or *κόσμους*) in testimonies about Anaximander, took it (as he would naturally be inclined to do) in the Epicurean sense of coexistent worlds. Then, because Anaximander's innumerable *heavens* are 'gods,' he supposed that Anaxi-

¹ Cf. SERV. on *Aen.* I, 331 quo sub caelo: aut sub qua parte caeli, aut secundum Epicureos, qui plures esse volunt caelos, ut Cicero in Hortensio. Cic. *ad fam.* ix, 26 ille baro te putabat quaesitum, unum caelum esset an innumerabilia.

² These words are part of the quotation. Theophrastus, a very terse and economical writer, would not write ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶ τοῖς ὄσσι for γίγνεται τὰ ὄντα or τὴν φθορὰν γίνεσθαι for φθείρεσθαι.

mander regarded the coexistent *worlds* as gods. As Zeller points out, the Epicureans themselves never dreamed of doing this, nor could it occur to any Greek to think of invisible worlds formed in mechanical vortices throughout infinite space as divine.¹

As for the 'long intervals,' it is not true that anyone encountering the phrase '*longis intervallis orientis occidentisque*' without preconception would feel it 'much more natural' to understand intervals of space rather than time. That Cicero himself took 'intervals' to refer to time seems probable from Velleius' next words, 'sed nos deum nisi sempiternum intellegere non possumus.' Also a sentence in Cotta's reply to Velleius (§ 67): *sed ubi est veritas? in mundis, credo, innumerabilibus, omnibus minimis temporum punctis aliis nascentibus, aliis cadentibus*² suggests a contrast between the long periodic intervals of successive worlds in Anaximander and the momentary appearance of coexistent worlds in Epicurus.

The only certain reference to spatial intervals between Anaximander's 'worlds' is in a note added by some post-Epicurean doxographer at the end of Aetius' chapter *περὶ κόσμον* (II, 1, 8): *τῶν ἀπείρου ἀποφνημαμένων τοῖς κόσμοις Ἀναξίμανδρος τὸ ἴσον αὐτοῦ ἀπέχειν ἀλλήλων, Ἐπίκουρος ἀνίσον εἶναι τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν κόσμων διάστημα*.³ Obviously this remark, which stands by itself, cannot go back to Theophrastus. *Intermundia* were certainly meant by the writer. The contrast is between equal and unequal (not long and short) intervals. The statement probably involves the Epicurean confusion of coexistent worlds either (1) with Anaximander's successive worlds or (2) with his οὐρανοί (the heavenly bodies). (1) It is probable that *equal* intervals of *time* would mark the becoming and perishing of the successive worlds. Compare *Simplic. Phys.* 1121, 12 ὅσοι αἰεὶ μὲν φασιν εἶναι κόσμον, οὐ μὴν τὸν αὐτὸν αἰεὶ ἀλλὰ ἄλλοτε ἄλλον γιγνόμενον κατὰ τινὰς χρόνου περιόδους, Anaximander *ap. Theophr. (Dox.* 476) ἐξ ὧν δὴ ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶ τοῖς οὐσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι . . . κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν. (2) Anaximander's οὐρανοί are *spaced* at *equal* distances from one another. The interval from earth to stars, stars to moon, moon to sun is nine earth-diameters.⁴ It may be that some statement representing one or other of these facts was misinterpreted by the writer of the note.

(4) The confusion of κόσμοι with οὐρανοί, above illustrated, disposes of Burnet's next argument: 'It may be added that it is very unnatural to understand the statement that the Boundless "encompasses all the worlds" of worlds succeeding one another in time; for on this view there is at a given time only one world to encompass.'

The reference is to Hippol. 1, 6, 1 ταύτην δὲ αἰδίων εἶναι καὶ ἀγήρων, ἣν καὶ πάντας περιέχειν τοὺς κόσμους. But in *Ar. Phys.* 203b 4 ff., where Aristotle is perhaps closely reproducing Anaximander's language, the phrase is περιέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν . . . καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ θεῖον· ἀθάνατον γὰρ καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, ὥς φησιν Ἀναξίμανδρος, and at *de caelo* 303b 10 we find οἱ δὲ ὕδατος μὲν λεπτότερον αἶρος δὲ πυκνότερον, ὃ περιέχειν φασὶ πάντας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς (not κόσμους) ἀπειρον ὄν. Whether or not the reference is to Anaximander (as Simplicius supposed), it is impossible to base any argument on the assumptions that Anaximander actually wrote 'the Boundless encompasses all the assumptions that Anaximander actually wrote 'the Boundless encompasses all the κόσμοι' and that κόσμοι must mean complete 'worlds.' If he said it encompassed all the οὐρανοί, that is true of 'all the heavens and the κόσμοι in them.'

(5) Burnet continues: 'Moreover, the argument mentioned by Aristotle that, if what is outside the heavens is infinite, body must be infinite, and there must be innumerable worlds, can only be understood in one sense, and is certainly intended

¹ Cf. Cyril's οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτι λέγων, above p. 10, note 3.

² Cf. *Cic. de fin.* 1, 6, 21 innumerabiles mundi, qui et oriantur et intereant cotidie. *Simplic. Phys.* 1121, 5 ἄλλων μὲν αἰεὶ γινομένων ἄλλων δὲ

φθειρομένων.

³ Cf. Hippol. (*Dox.* 565, 11).

⁴ See Diels' *Über Anaximanders Kosmos*, *Arch. G. Phil.* X (1897), 228 ff.

to represent the reasoning of the Milesians; for they were the only cosmologists who held that there was a boundless body outside the heavens.¹

At *Phys.* III, 4, 203b 23 (to which Burnet refers) Aristotle states the fifth reason which had led physicists to believe in the existence of 'something unlimited':

'Most of all, a reason which is peculiarly appropriate and presents the difficulty that is felt by everybody—not only number but also mathematical magnitudes and what is outside the heaven are supposed to be infinite because they never give out in our *thought*. The last fact (that what is outside is infinite) leads people to suppose that body also is infinite, and that there is an infinite number of worlds. Why should there be body in one part of the void rather than in another? Grant only that mass is anywhere and it follows that it must be everywhere. Also, if void and place are infinite, there must be infinite body too, for in the case of eternal things what may be must be' (*Oxf. trans.*).

In a note Burnet quotes the phrase ἀπείρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ἔξω (sc. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) καὶ σῶμα ἀπείρου εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ κόσμοι, and adds: 'the next words—τί γὰρ μᾶλλον τοῦ κενοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐνταῦθα;—show that this refers to the Atomists as well; but the ἀπείρου σῶμα will not apply to them. The meaning is that both those who made the Boundless a body and those who made it a κενόν held the doctrine of ἀπείροι κόσμοι in the same sense.'

This note misrepresents Aristotle's drift. It is not true that the Atomists did not believe in 'unlimited body,' but 'made the Boundless (not a body, but) a κενόν.' The Atomist argument, reproduced by Aristotle, is: Outside the visible heaven (οὐρανός) we can always conceive space extending without limit. Space, then, must be infinite; and, if so, body also must be infinite, for there is no reason why 'mass'² should exist in any one part of space and not in another. 'And if void is infinite, as Democritus was understood to say, the worlds also must be infinite in number; "for why should there be body in one part of the void rather than in another?" Accordingly bodily mass must be everywhere, if anywhere, and so must itself be infinite' (Simplic. *ad loc.* 467, 15). The conclusion is that, for the Atomists, both the void and body are unlimited.

Simplicius proceeds to quote Archytas' reasoning in favour of unlimited body, reproduced by Eudemus (frag. 30): 'If I am in the heaven of the fixed stars, can I stretch out my hand or staff? If I can, what is outside must be either body or space. If body, then body is infinite; if space, and space is that in which there *might* be body, what might be must be supposed to be in the case of eternal things, and on this showing equally there will be infinite body as well as space.'

The Atomists' deduction was stated by Metrodorus of Chios: 'It would be strange if a single ear of corn grew in a large plain or there were only one world in the infinite. And that worlds are infinite in number follows from the causes (αἰτία, i.e. atoms) being infinite.³ For if the world is limited, while the causes from which this world has arisen are infinite, there must be innumerable worlds. Infinite causes must produce infinite effects' (Aet. I, 5, 4). Epicurus (*Ep.* I, 45) repeats this: no limited number of worlds could exhaust the infinite supply of atoms; and Lucretius (II, 1052 ff.) follows. Aristotle was thinking of the mathematical argument for infinite space and the conclusion drawn by Archytas and the Atomists: if space is infinite, body must be so too. There is no ground for seeing any reference to the Milesians, from which it could be inferred that they had *coexistent* worlds.

Anaximander's reason for saying that his ἀρχή was unlimited comes under another head in Aristotle's analysis (*Phys.* 203b 18). The third ground for the belief

¹ The last assertion is hardly consistent with Burnet's statement (p. 108), following Aristotle: 'The Pythagoreans held that there was a "boundless breath" outside the heavens, and that it was inhaled by the world. In substance, that is the doctrine of Anaximenes, and it becomes practically certain that it was taught by Pytha-

goras, when we find that Xenophanes denies it.'

² τὸν ὄγκον, cf. Diog. IX, 44 (Democritus). ὄγκων = atoms.

³ Cf. Simplic. *Phys.* 178, 23 ὅσοι μὲν κόσμοι ἀπείρου ὑπέθετο ὥσπερ Δημόκριτος, ἀναγκαίως καὶ τὰ στοιχεῖα ἀπειρά φασιν εἶναι τῷ ἀριθμῷ.

in 'something unlimited' is: *ἔτι τῷ οὕτως ἂν μόνως μὴ ὑπολείπειν γένεσιν καὶ φθοράν, εἰ ἄπειρον εἴη ὅθεν ἀφαιρεῖται τὸ γινόμενον*. At 208a 8 this ground is briefly dismissed: 'It is not necessary that there should be an unlimited sensible body "in order that becoming may not fail" (*ἵνα ἡ γένεσις μὴ ἐπιλείπῃ*); for the perishing of one thing may be the becoming of another, the sum of things being limited.' That this was Anaximander's ground we know from Aet. 1, 3, 3 'All things arise out of the unlimited and perish into it. Hence ἄπειροι κόσμοι are generated and perish again into that from which they arise. At any rate (*γούν*) he states as a reason why it is unlimited *ἵνα μηδὲν ἐλλείπῃ ἡ γένεσις ἢ ὑφισταμένη*.' Also Simplicius (*de caelo* 615, 15): Anaximander was the first to assume an unlimited, *ἵνα ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς γενέσεις ἀφθόνως*. καὶ κόσμους δὲ ἀπείρους οὗτος καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κόσμων ἐξ ἀπείρου τοῦ τοιούτου στοιχείου ὑπέθετο, ὥς δοκεῖ. Here again the ἄπειροι κόσμοι appear in Aetius and (with ὥς δοκεῖ) in Simplicius. Aristotle has no mention of them in this connection; and, as we have seen from the comparison of Theophrastus with Aetius (p. 11), Theophrastus used the incompatible expression 'all the heavens and the κόσμοι in them.'

'The ἀρχὴ must be unlimited in order that becoming may not fail.' This may mean that there must be 'any amount' of material in the source to be drawn upon for the becoming of a world; the amount need not be strictly 'infinite,' provided it be not exhaustible by the demands made upon it. Or it may suggest a series of becomings (of one world after another) which is never to end. Since 'things perish into that from which they arose,' Aristotle is justified in remarking that 'the perishing of one thing may be the becoming of another' and that this is not a valid ground for requiring a (strictly) infinite body. In any case there is no reference to the Atomistic scheme, in which some worlds are *always* arising, some always perishing, and there can be no question of a failure of becoming for lack of material.

(6) 'Lastly,' Burnet concludes, 'we happen to know that Petron, one of the earliest Pythagoreans, held that there were just one hundred and eighty-three worlds arranged in a triangle, which shows at least that the doctrine of a plurality of worlds was much older than the Atomists.' Later (p. 109), solely on this ground, Burnet thinks 'it is even probable that we should ascribe to Pythagoras the Milesian view of a plurality of worlds, though it would not have been natural for him to speak of an infinite number. We know at least that Petron, etc.'

Petron is known from Plutarch *def. orac.* 422b, where his doctrine of 183 worlds is given on the authority of Hippys of Rhegium quoted by Phantias of Eresos, the Peripatetic. Petron's claim to be 'one of the earliest Pythagoreans' and 'much older than the Atomists' rests solely on Wilamowitz' suggestion (*Hermes* XIX, 444) that by Hippys of Rhegium is meant Hippasos of Metapontion, because Petron and Hippasos were both Pythagoreans. Against this conjecture there is the evidence of Demetrius Magnes (D.L. VIII, 84) that Hippasos left nothing in writing.¹ Further, Jakoby (*s.v.* Hippys of Rhegium, P.-W. VIII, 1929) points out that, if Plutarch or Phantias did not mean Hippys, it is more likely that he meant Hipparchides of Rhegium (*Iambl. vit. Pyth.* 267), who has at least the advantage over Hippasos of coming from Rhegium. I cannot myself see why Phantias, who may have lived far on into the third century, should not have quoted Hippys (whom Jakoby places in the first half of that century), or why Hippys should not have mentioned Petron's eccentric view. It was not unusual for historians to refer to cosmological speculations. There is no better evidence than this for ranking Petron among the 'earliest Pythagoreans.' He may have been a contemporary of Leucippus or Democritus or

¹ The μυστικὸς λόγος defaming Pythagoras attributed by Heracleides Lembos (second century) to some Hippasos (D.L. VIII, 7) was recognized as spurious by the Alexandrine critics

(Delatte, *Vie de Pyth.* p. 165). Delatte would identify this Hippasos with the Crotoniate adversary of the Pythagorean Society mentioned by *Iambl. V.P.* 257.

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Plato.¹ To go further and ascribe a plurality of worlds to Pythagoras (contrary to the Stobaeus extract, Πυθαγόρας . . . ἓνα τὸν κόσμον, and all other evidence) is fantastic.

Conclusion. This review of the evidence leaves it very improbable that Anaximander in the middle of the sixth century stated a doctrine of innumerable worlds which does not appear again till the second half of the fifth century. There is nothing in the appearance of Nature to suggest more worlds than one, except the stars. Burnet having accepted the post-Epicurean evidence, finds it 'difficult to resist the belief that what we call the fixed stars were identified with the "innumerable worlds" which were also "gods".' This is in flat contradiction with the clear and detailed testimony that all the heavenly bodies are wheels of fire enclosed in air, and that 'the wheels of the fixed stars' are parts of our world, nearer to the earth than the sun and moon (κατωτάτω δὲ τοῖς τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων κύκλους, Hippol. 1, 6, 5). 'It would follow,' continues Burnet, 'that the diurnal revolution is only apparent; for the stars are at unequal distances from us, and can have no rotation in common.' The stars are not at unequal distances from us: all their wheels are at a distance of nine earth-diameters. Nor is there any reason why all these wheels should not rotate together, as if they formed part of a rigid sphere. The view that would agree with the testimony is that the star-wheels represent the remains of that 'sphere of flame' which 'grew round the air encompassing the earth, like bark round a tree, and, when it was torn off and enclosed in certain rings, the sun, moon and stars came into existence.'² The stars rotate all together because their wheels have taken the place of the sphere of flame. Burnet adds that his view 'gets rid of one difficulty, the wheel of the "stars," which is between the earth and the moon; for the fixed stars could not be explained by a "wheel" at all; a sphere would be required.' The stars are not explained by a 'wheel,' but by 'wheels' (κύκλους); and the sphere required is provided by the disrupted 'sphere of flame' if we do not dismiss this as an 'inaccuracy.' Burnet's suggestion that the stars 'accounted for by this inner wheel' are the morning and evening stars has no foundation whatever. If we follow the evidence of Theophrastus and refrain from rewriting it, it is quite easy to resist the belief that the fixed stars were identified with the innumerable worlds.

The stars, then, being out of the question, there is nothing in Nature to suggest innumerable worlds. The doctrine could only be reached by an *a priori* argument. As we have seen, it was so reached by the Atomists, who had grasped the conception of strictly infinite space and of 'unlimited body' in the form of an unlimited number of atoms scattered throughout it. Seeing that it was unlikely that a vortex should arise in one place and not arise from the same causes in other places, they deduced the probability that there were any number of worlds, always coming into being and perishing.

Anaximander's unlimited body is quite another matter. It is a single body

¹ If Petron had read the *Phaedrus*, there is no reason against ascribing to him the rest of the doctrine associated with his 183 worlds (Plut. *l.c.* 422B). The worlds revolve as in a dance; the area of the triangle is the κοινή ἐστία (μένει γὰρ Ἑστία ἐν θεῶν οἴκῳ μόνῃ *Phaedr.* 247A) and called πῆδον Ἀληθείας (ibid. 248B); it contains the λόγοι, εἶδη, παραδείγματα of things, surrounded by Eternity, from which οἶον ἀπορροήν ἐπὶ τοὺς κόσμους φέρεσθαι τὸν χρόνον. (This last trait is rather Pythagorean than Platonic: cf. *Ar. π. τῶν Πυθαγ.* frag. 201 τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν εἶναι ἓνα, ἐπεισάγεσθαι δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπείρου χρόνον.) Human souls are initiated into this spectacle once in 10,000 years

(*Phaedr.* 248E). Philosophy is ἀναμνήσεως ἕνεκα τῶν ἐκεῖ (ibid. 249C). It seems hardly likely that Plutarch would take the triangle of 183 worlds from Petron and the rest of the description from other sources.

² Burnet follows Heidel in calling the 'sphere of flame' an inaccuracy: 'The comparison to the bark of a tree distinctly suggests something annular.' That is because tree-trunks happen to be cylindrical; there is nothing in the nature of bark to demand any particular shape. The first animals, which were 'enclosed in prickly bark' (*Aet. V*, 19, 4), can hardly have been 'annular.' They were like sea-urchins.

16 INNUMERABLE WORLDS IN PRESOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY

uninterrupted by spaces of void, not a chaos of particles moving in all directions and setting up vortices by collision. It is a living and 'divine' substance, and being alive it has the power of giving birth to that nucleus or embryo of the cosmos which is described as 'pregnant with,' or 'capable of generating, hot and cold.' This pregnant nucleus is easily seen to be a rationalized equivalent of the world-egg, which in the Orphic cosmogony, as in others, appears in the darkness and hatches out to form heaven and earth. In this primitive monistic conception the Atomists' argument has no basis or application. The notion of the vortex in which a plurality of particles are sifted according to their differences of shape or size belongs to the pluralist systems of the next century. A single, continuous, living and divine body cannot be submitted to the 'process of shaking or sifting as in a riddle or sieve' (p. 61). This image in the *Timaeus* is taken from Leucippus or Democritus. To ascribe their theory of innumerable world-forming vortices to Anaximander is an anachronism which vitiates the whole account of the system.

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NOTES ON THE *CARMINA* OF APOLLINARIS SIDONIUS.

THANKS to the generous amount of space which the editors have granted, the forthcoming version of the poems of Sidonius in the Loeb series will be accompanied by a considerable number of notes on difficult passages. The following comments deal with a few matters of interest which could not be adequately treated within the limits of that volume.

V. 112-115. Exploits of the elder Maiorianus (grandfather of the Emperor).

Latiis sunt condita fastis
facta ducis quotiens Scythicis inlata colonis
classica presserunt Hypanim, Peucenque rigentem
mente salutatis inrisit lixa pruinis.

Mente salutatis has caused much misgiving. Its Latinity is at least unusual, and the addition of *mente* weakens the force of the passage and does not fit the picture. An epithet to accompany *mente*, e.g. *laeta*, would have made everything right. Nevertheless, in the absence of any satisfactory emendation of *mente*, one would be compelled to accept the text as it stands, were it not that Sidonius, who tends to reiterate the same conceit *ad nauseam*, has elsewhere indicated what he probably wrote here. It is difficult for a student of these poems to believe that the writer here refrained from contrasting the external cold with the inward glow of the heart. Cf. 533 sq., infra:

frigora ridet
dum solus plus mente calet.

So in XVI. 97 sq.:

quae (i.e. Alpis) quamquam frigora portet
conceptum Christi numquam domat illa calorem.

In vv. 76 sq. of the present poem we find inward cold contrasted with external heat. Another variation on the same theme will be found in XI. 126 sq.; and these passages are not the only ones in which Sidonius, an incorrigible verbal trickster, makes play with the contrast between heat and cold. I venture, then, to suggest that a line ending in *calenti* has disappeared before v. 115; the omission might be caused by homoeoteleuton (*rigente, calenti*). We thus get an epithet with *mente* such as was desiderated above. To complete our imaginary verse we might perhaps use another familiar conceit and picture horsemen riding over the frozen Danube-mouth to the island of Peuce:

Peucenque rigentem
exsultans inuasit eques, frigusque calenti
mente salutatis inrisit lixa pruinis.

V. 164 sq. Perhaps one may remind the reader that this passage was explained in C.R. XLI. (1927), pp. 124 sq.

V. 213-218.

Hic coeuntes
claudabant angusta uias, arcuque subactum
uicum Helenam flumenque simul sub tramite longo
artus suppositis trabibus transmiserat agger.
Illic te posito pugnabat ponte sub ipso
Maiorianus eques.

These very difficult lines (addressed to Aëtius by his wife) describe the disposition of the Imperial forces near the village of Helena (which has been variously identified).

Agger here, as often, means 'road.' A narrow road ran through Helena and over the bridge which spanned the neighbouring river. Both sense and Latinity make it improbable that *arcu subactum* means 'surmounted by an archway.' One is tempted to suggest that, if the reading is correct, the meaning of *subigere* may be similar to that of the English 'command' when we talk of artillery commanding a place: Aëtius, posted with the main force at the cross-roads (see below), had the village within range of his archers. It is possible, however, that Sidonius wrote *arcusque sub ictu*, with which we may compare *sub ictu teli*, Liv. XLIII. 10. 5.

Sidonius' love of frigid contrast complicates vv. 215 sq. Just as he is almost incapable of using *uetus* or *vetustus* without contrasting it with *novus*, so here the narrowness of the road suggests a pointed contrast with its length. This itch for antithesis causes *artus* to be put immediately after *longo*, obscuring the fact that *sub tramite* goes with *suppositis trabibus*. Such hyperbata, however, are not uncommon in Latin poetry. The meaning is 'a narrow road crossed both the village of Helena and the river, beams being placed under the long path.' The Latin does not make it clear whether the *trabes* supported the bridge alone or the rest of the road as well. In the latter case we should naturally be reminded of the causeways constructed by Germanicus in the marshlands of Germany. But in the present case the land can scarcely have been marshy, for we find that Majorian is posted with his cavalry close to the bridge. Thus we must conclude that the *trabes* are the supporting timbers of the bridge. *Tramite* refers to the *agger*, with emphasis on its narrowness. The meaning of *longo*, which forms a pointed contrast to *artus*, need not be pressed, but the road may really have been long; it must have been continued beyond the bridge, and on the side of Helena it probably ran through and beyond the *angusta* of the cross-roads. The meaning, then, is that the road, a long but narrow one, ran through the village and on over the bridge, where it was supported by girders.

Illic, v. 217, refers to the cross-roads. The situation is thus clear. The two strategic points are the cross-roads, occupied by Aëtius, and the bridge, where Majorian is posted. The road described runs from the cross-roads through Helena and over the bridge.

V. 383-388. Majorian, when *magister militum*, had sent his lieutenant Burco to repel a band of Alamanni, which was duly defeated. Soon after, when Emperor, he had to deal with a Vandal incursion. The first part of the following quotation refers to the earlier engagement.

Felix te respicit iste
euentus belli. Certatum est iure magistri,
Augusti fato nuper : post hostis aperto
errabat lentus pelago, postquam ordine uobis (= tibi)
ordo omnis regnum dederat, plebs, curia, miles,
et collega simul.

The above punctuation is that of the two latest editors. Mr. Semple (*Quaestiones Exegeticae Sidonianae*, p. 85) would follow earlier editors in punctuating after *fato*, not after *nuper*. Although this view might seem at first sight to raise rather than to remove difficulties, I believe that a careful study of the whole passage along with Mr. Semple's arguments will in the end convince any reader who is conversant with Sidonius that *nuper* goes with what follows and introduces the more recent of the two exploits. But two obstacles still confront us. In the first place we feel the want of something in the previous clause to balance *nuper*. This may be obtained by a further change of punctuation. Read :

Felix te respicit iste
euentus belli; certatum est iure magistri,
Augusti fato. Nuper . . .

Speaking of the victory over the Alamanni, Sidonius says, 'The happy issue of that campaign was due to you; for while you fought with the authority of Master of the Forces you were under the guiding destiny of an Emperor,' i.e. your Imperial destiny was helping you even before you became Emperor. The desired contrast to *nuper* is furnished by *iste euentus*.

There remains one difficulty. *Nuper post* is an extraordinary combination. If we retain it we must regard *post* as anticipating the *postquam*-clause, but this is rather a comfortless expedient. I venture to suggest that *ferus* has dropped out between *nuper* and *hostis*, and that *post* is a clumsy stopgap. We should then read:

Nuper ferus hostis aperto
errabat lentus pelago . . .

The *Scythica feritas* of the Vandals is mentioned in v. 329.

V. 505.

Pharsalica Caesar
arua petens subitas ferro compescuit iras;
sed sua membra secans et causae mole coactus
fleuit quos perimit.

The reference is to the famous mutiny of the Ninth Legion at Placentia. *Sed . . . fleuit* is a strange jumble; the two participial phrases are here unnaturally linked by *et*; *causae mole coactus* is really an explanation of *sua membra secans*, and does not go in sense with *fleuit*. Read *ut* for *et*, with commas after *secans* and *coactus*: 'but as he thus cut off his own limbs (for the urgency of his cause compelled him), he wept for those whom he destroyed.'

VII. 7. As the stars set only to rise and shine once more, so is Rome rising out of her humiliation to fresh glory.

Modo principe surgit
consule.

Sidonius is greeting the consulship of the new Emperor Avitus. Most MSS. read *surget*, but *surgit* (M) is more effective, and more probable with *modo*, which Sidonius loves to use with a present tense, meaning 'now.'

VII. 21-23. Mercury, despatched by Jupiter to summon a council of the gods, flies to earth by way of Mount Atlas (his 'grandfather'; cf. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 258 *materno ueniens ab auo*). No sooner has he alighted than the deities of land, sea and air begin to assemble.

Vix contigit arua
et toto descendit auo: mare terra uel (= et) aer
indigenas misere deos.

The lines so punctuated are quite clear. We have the familiar paratactical construction after *uix*; *et . . . auo* is an explanatory clause, producing what is often unnecessarily called Hysteron Proteron. The meaning is: 'Descending the whole length of his grandfather he had scarce touched the fields when sea, earth and air sent their native divinities.'

I refrain from reproducing the ludicrous punctuation by which editors have muddled this passage.

VII. 165-171. Jupiter relates that after the birth of Avitus he sent clear omens of the glory that awaited the infant. The father feared the responsibility which his son's great destiny placed upon him, but nevertheless did his best to fit the boy for the future.

Manifesta dedi mox signa futuri
 principis ac totam fausto trepidi patris aulam
 impleui augurio. Licet idem grandia nati
 culparet fata et pueri iam regna uideret,
 sed sibi commissum tanto sub pignore cernens
 mundi depositum, ne quid tibi, Roma, periret,
 iuuat fortunam studio.

Here the correct punctuation is given for the first time. Editors, possibly not knowing that *sed* may be used like *at* or *tamen* after a concessive clause (see Schmalz-Hofmann, *Synt.*, § 238c, p. 666), ruin the sense by putting a comma, or something similar, after *augurio* and a full stop after *uideret*.

XI. 86-90. The beauty of Hiberia is such as would have made all the heroes, and even Jupiter himself, strive to win her.

Te quoque multimodis ambisset, Hiberia, ludis
 axe Pelops, cursu Hippomenes luctaque Achelous,
 Aeneas bellis spectatus, Gorgone Perseus;
 nec minor haec species, totiens cui Iuppiter esset
 Delia, taurus, olor, Satyrus, draco, fulmen et aurum.

The idea of the last two lines was no doubt suggested by Stat. *Silu.* I. 2. 135 sq.: *falsus huic* (i.e. *Violentillae*) *pinnae et cornua sumeret aethrae | rector, in hanc uero cecidisset Iuppiter auro*. But, as far as I can see, the text as it stands fails to give this sense, or indeed any reasonable sense at all; we are not entitled to understand *quam* before *qui* or to give *minor* the construction of *indigna*. It seems possible that Sidonius wrote:

nec minus haec species totiens cui, etc.,

'nay, this is the beauty for whose sake Jupiter would so oft have become the Delian goddess or bull or swan . . .', that is, if Hiberia had lived in the old days, it would have been her charms, not those of Cynosura, Europa, Leda, etc., that would have induced Jupiter to assume his various disguises. The appropriateness of *nec minus* will be evident from the first sentence of this note. The alteration of *minus* to *minor*, in order to make it agree with *species*, is not at all surprising.

XIII. 19 sq.:

Geryonen nos esse puta monstrumque tributum:
 hinc capita, ut uiuam, tu mihi tolle tria.

Majorian had levied a heavy tax upon the Gallo-Romans of Lugdunum for their insurrection. The method adopted was to assess each man on an increased number of *capita* (property-units), either trebling the assessment or perhaps even adding three *capita* to every former one. Sidonius beseeches the Emperor to remove the three *capita*, even as Hercules removed the *tergeminum caput* of Geryon (vv. 13 sq.)—a feat which would be easy for Majorian, who had once on the same day transfixed with three arrows a snake, a stag, and a boar (17 sq.; cf. 5. 152 sqq.). Then follow the lines quoted above.

The reading *Geryonen* is due to Luetjohann, who is followed by Mohr (*Geryones*, Casellius). But how can 'we' be considered as Geryon if, as the next words say, it is the *tributum* that is to be considered as the monster? Even Luetjohann seems to have felt uncomfortable about this, and proposed in his app. crit. to read *monstrumque triforme* for *monstrumque tributum*, while Wilamowitz proposed *nostrumque tributum*. These suggestions are poor attempts to save the baseless conjecture *Geryonen*, which does not even account for the reading of the MSS., *hystriones* (*histr.*). The source of *hystriones* is most probably *Eurysthea* nos. Read:

Eurysthea nos esse puta monstrumque tributum.

XV. 58 sq. Pythagoras discourses of the spheres and their music.

praecipuumque etiam septem uaga sidera cantum
hinc dare, perfectus numerus quod uterque habeatur :

Perfectus . . . *habeatur* seems to mean 'because in each there is a perfect number,' i.e., 'because in planets and notes alike a perfect number is present.' This concise use of *uterque* (= 'in each case') is quite possible; cf. *Ov. Trist.* I. 3. 62. It is, however, worth noting that P. has *utique*. This suggests that the correct reading may be *utrimque*, which would give a similar sense.

XV. 64-66. A continuation of the above discourse: the arrangement of the planets: Venus, Mercury, Luna.

sic placidam Paphien seruare diastema quintum,
Arcadium sexto, Lunam sic orbe supremo
ter denas tropico prope currere climate myras.

Read *sextum* (sc. *diastema*). The meaning obviously is *Arcadius sextum diastema seruat*, not *Arc. sexto orbe ter denas currit myras*. Apart from the sense, the arrangement of *sic*—*sic* ought to have led the editors to suspect the traditional reading.

XV. 118 sq. The young Polemius is trained in a temple of wisdom.

Hoc in gymnasio Polemi sapientia uitam
excolit adiunctamque suo fouet ipsa Platoni.

So most editors. Luetjohann saw that *Polemi* should be taken with *uitam* and that *Sapientia* should be printed with a capital letter. He did not see, however, that the reading of P and F, *adiunctumque*, is much more natural and forcible than *adiunctamque*: 'In this school Philosophy ennobles the life of Polemius and herself fosters him close to her own son Plato.'

XVII. 15-19. Sidonius invites his friend Ommatius to visit him, and states that he can offer only humble fare.

Vina mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna
quaeque Saraptano palmite missa bibas.
Pocula non hic sunt industria nomine pagi
quod posuit nostris ipse triumphare agris.

Vv. 17. sq. have never been explained. No meaning has been obtained by taking *quod* with *nomine*, and so it has actually been suggested that *pagi* is here neuter. That Sidonius, of all persons, would gratuitously have used a barbarous form *pagum* (not otherwise known) is incredible. It is far better to read *quem* for *quod* and assume that an erroneous association of the relative with *nomine* caused the corruption. But no one has suggested what 'the canton which the triumvir himself established in our (or "my") land' may mean. *Nostris agris* means the territory of Lugdunum (Sidonius, as a Lyonnese and therefore a 'Gaul' in the narrow sense, contrasts himself with Ommatius, an Arvernian, in v. 14). Cass. Dio XLVI. 50 informs us that Lug(u)dunum was founded in 43 B.C. by L. Munatius Plancus and M. Aemilius Lepidus (who was presently to become a triumvir), and that the settlers planted there were refugees from Vienna (mod. Vienne). The region of Vienne was famous for its wine (*uitifera Vienna*, Mart. XIII. 107. 1). Thus Sidonius says: 'I have no wine of Vienne to offer you.' The word *pagus* is somewhat loosely applied to the Viennenses, but that need not trouble us.

XXIII. 131-135. The literary skill of Consentius' father.

Hic cum senipedem stilum polibat
Zmyrnaeae cute doctus officinae
aut cum se historiae dabat seueras,

primos uix poterant locos tueri
torrens Herodotus, tonans Homerus.

Cute doctus is a puzzle. Mohr cites Pers. III. 30, in *cute noui*, which has absolutely nothing in common with the present passage. For *cute* F offers the unmetrical *incude* (perhaps due to *Epist.* VII. 17. 1), C has *uice*, which is surely right, though rejected by all editors. *Doctus* is in the predicate, 'learnedly' or 'skilfully,' and *Zmyrn. uice off.* means 'after the manner of Homer's school.' For examples of *uice* = *more, modo, ritu* see Mayor's commentary on Tert. *Apol.*, p. 340, l. 36, p. 360. 31.

XXIII. 155-157. Reference to Petronius Arbiter.

et te Massiliensium per hortos
sacri stipitis, Arbiter, colonum
Hellespontiaco parem Priapo.

Sacri stipitis refers to the rude wooden representations of Priapus: *colonum* means 'worshipper.' *Massiliensium hortos* apparently refers to an episode in the *Satyricon*. Servius on *Aen.* 3. 57 states that a certain Massilian custom was described by Petronius in his final chapter. It is possible that the action was shifted to Massilia in the last part of the book. The above lines suggest that in the 'Gardens of Massilia' Priapus, the garden-god, played an important part. It may have been there that Encolpius performed his final expiation and was reconciled to the god whose wrath had pursued him through the manifold adventures described in the book: 'the heavy wrath of Hellespontine Priapus' is indeed the leading motive of the *Satyricon*. But it is difficult to see why Petronius should here be said to have made himself 'equal to Priapus.' On the other hand we shall get excellent sense if (while retaining *Hellespontiaco*) we read *Priapi*: 'and thee too, Arbiter, whose "Gardens of Massilia" make thee equal to the dweller on the Hellespont as a worshipper of the sacred tree-stock, Priapus.' *Hellespontiaco* may be used as a noun, or we may understand *colono* with it. The fact that *Hellespontiacus* is a standing epithet of Priapus does not militate against the proposed reading; such variations of familiar 'tags' are not infrequent in the poets.

This passage has been rather fantastically treated by Cichorius, *Röm. Stud.*, pp. 438-442. He is briefly controverted by Birt, *Philol. Woch.* XLV. (1925), col. 95 sq. Birt discerned (and illustrates) the meaning of *colonum*, but his explanation of the passage involves a crude indecency which is appropriate neither to Sidonius nor to the context, and his interpretation of *parem Priapo* is strained and incredible. It seems certain that the traditional text is incapable of a reasonable explanation.

According to Buecheler, Sidonius supposed that Petronius depicted himself under the character of Encolpius. This may be so, but it does not necessarily follow from the passage in question.

XXIII. 385-393. A chariot-race.

iam sexto reditu perexplicato
iamque et praemia flagitante uolgo
pars contraria nil timens tuam uim
securas prior orbitas terebat,
tensis cum subito sinu lupatis,
tensis pectoribus, pede ante fixo,
quantum auriga suos solebat ille
raptans Oenomaum tremante Pisa,
tantum tu rapidos teris iugales.

It is difficult to get any satisfactory meaning out of *sinu* (-um, MSS.), whether we take it to refer to the driver or to the reins, for in each case it is a straightening,

not a bending, that takes place. I venture to suggest *simul*, the last letter of which may have been lost by haplography. The driver, preparing for a critical spurt, suddenly (*subito*) tautens the curbs all together (*simul*) and 'saws' the mouths of the horses.

XXIII. 490-494. The host produces various instruments of sport, including dice.

Hic promens teretes pilas trochosque,
hic talos crepitantibus fritillis
nos ad uerbera tractuum struentes,
tamquam Naupliades, repertor artis,
gaudebas hilarem ciere rixam.

Tractuum has never been explained. Read *iactuum* — the usual word; cf. *Epist.* I. 2. 7. The termination of *uerbera* may have helped to bring about the corruption, or it may be due to an erroneous *tactuum*. In *Epist.* I., loc. cit., C originally had *et actibus* for *iactibus*.

XXIV. 80-83. The poet's book will visit various friends.

Hinc te iam Fidulus, decus bonorum
et nec Tetradio satis secundus
morum dotibus et tenore recti,
sancta suscipit hospitalitate.

Satis can scarcely be right. The word is often used in a strongly intensive sense in late Latin (like Italian *assai* and unlike French *assez*¹), but it is not a natural word to use with *secundus*; and even if *satis secundus* could mean 'very much inferior' we could not reasonably suppose that Sidonius perpetrated such a left-handed compliment to a friend. If we retain *satis*, we shall have to take it as the participle used in the sense of *insitis*; but such a use seems without parallel. We must therefore resort to emendation. If *situs* could be used with *secundus* in a figurative sense ('placed,' 'ranked'), it would do quite well. I suspect, however, that Sidonius wrote *latens*. *Latere* is used in 23. 169 and 271 of a person overshadowed by another's greatness. Assimilation of the initial letters of consecutive words is a well-known source of error; thus *latēs secundus* may have become *sates secundus*.

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¹ On this meaning, and also on the still further intensification (= *nimum*), see Svennung, *Orosiana*, p. 157, and the authorities there cited.

THE MYTH IN PLUTARCH'S *DE FACIE* (940F—945D).

THE myths which Plutarch has included, after the Platonic manner, in his dialogues *de sera numinis vindicta*, *de genio Socratis*, and *de facie in orbe lunae* constitute our main source for his views on the nature and fate of the soul. But before we use this material in the reconstruction of Plutarch's philosophy we must come to some conclusion on the question how Plutarch intended the myths to be regarded. Did he mean the peculiar doctrine of the nature of the soul expressed in the myths of the *de genio* and the *de facie* and implied in the myth of the *de vindicta* to be taken seriously, and is there any criterion which will enable us to answer this question? The object of this paper is to suggest that such a criterion may be found by examining the relation of the myth of the *de facie* to the *Timaeus* of Plato.

The myth falls into two parts, the first of which provides an ostensibly historical framework for the second. It is put into the mouth of Sulla the Carthaginian, who claims to have met at Carthage a stranger from the mainland which surrounds the great ocean. The coast of this continent is inhabited by men of Greek race, who worship above all other gods Heracles and Cronus. Between this continent and the coast of Europe lie three islands, in one of which Cronus dwells, imprisoned in everlasting sleep and attended by the daemons who were his companions when he ruled gods and men. To this island the Greeks of the mainland send a deputation every thirty years to do honour to the god, and each party has to remain till it is relieved by its successor. The stranger was a member of such a deputation, and, when his term of duty was over, he decided to visit the 'great island,' which was the name that these people gave to our world. He travelled through many lands and was initiated into many mysteries, but he spent longest at Carthage, where he discovered certain holy parchments and where he met Sulla, to whom he imparted the doctrines concerning the soul which constitute the myth proper.

It does not fall within the scope of this paper to discuss the sources of the whole of this narrative;¹ for my present purpose I am concerned only with its relation to

¹ Two points in connection with the problem of sources may perhaps be mentioned here. (A) M. Adler (*Diss. Philol. Vindob.*, 10, 169) sees in various details, such as the story about Cronus, the mention of Ogygia and Britain, of the Maeotic gulf and the Caspian sea, and the 'sagax sententia' that what we call a continent is really an island, clear indications of the work of Poseidonius. This source seems to me to be ruled out by the evidence of Strabo and the elder Pliny. Strabo (2. 3. 5) ridicules Poseidonius for believing that Eudoxus of Cyzicus had discovered trustworthy evidence of the possibility of sailing round Africa and for concluding διότι ἡ οἰκούμενη κύκλῳ περιρρεῖται τῷ ὠκεανῷ: 'οὐ γὰρ δεσμός περιβάλλεται ἡπείροιο, ἀλλ' ἐς ἀπειρεσίην κέχνηται τὸ μὲν οὐτι μαινεῖ.' The source of these hexameter verses is unknown, but they are certainly intended by Strabo to be an expression of the view held by Poseidonius. Pliny (N.H. 6. 57) says: 'Poseidonius ab aestivo solis

ortu ad hibernum exortum metatus est eam (sc. Indiam), adversam Galliam statuens,' and the statement is repeated by Solinus (ch. 52), who says of Poseidonius: 'Hanc (sc. Indiam) adversam Galliae statuit.' This must mean that he supposed the coast of Gaul to be opposite the east coast of India in the same sense as the east coast of Japan is now known to be opposite the west coast of America. He could not have held this if he had believed that a transatlantic continent intervened.

(B) Parallels for many of the details of life on the island of Cronus may be found in romantic descriptions of Utopias, such as those of Euhemerus (in Diodorus 5. 41-46), Theopompus (in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 3. 18), Diodorus (5. 19-20), and Lucian's parody of this type of writing, the *Vera Historia*. Still more striking is the correspondence between Plutarch's narrative and the account of the Hyperboreans given by Hecataeus of Abdera (Müller, F.H.G. 2. 386-

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the Atlantis story of Plato. That this relation is too close to be accidental, and that Plutarch must have written expressly in imitation of the *Timaeus* may be established, I think, by the following considerations.

We have first the hypothesis of a western continent, on which the whole of Plutarch's story depends, and not only the continent, but also a close parallel in the description of the intervening islands. In Plato this runs as follows: 'In those far-away days that Ocean could be navigated, as there was an island outside the channel which your countrymen tell me you call the "pillars of Heracles." This island was larger than Libya and Asia together, and from it seafarers, in those times, could make their way to the others, and thence to the whole of the opposite continent, which encircles the true outer Ocean.'¹ According to Plato, then, a man sailing westwards from Europe would come first to Atlantis, then to other islands, and finally to the western continent. Plutarch has an exactly parallel scheme, first Ogygia, 'lying five days' sail westwards from Britain,' then three islands further west and equally distant from Ogygia and from each other, and finally the continent. Indeed, it is to the closeness with which Plutarch has followed his Platonic model in this matter that we may attribute a confusion which he might otherwise have avoided. The island of Ogygia which is mentioned at the beginning of the story (941A) appears to play no part in what follows, since Cronus is said to be imprisoned in one of the three islands which lie beyond Ogygia to the west. On the other hand, we are told at 941D that the deputation comes first to the outlying islands (*ἐπὶ τὰς προκειμένους νήσους*), which one naturally identifies with the three islands similarly described above, and then proceeds to the island of Cronus after ninety days; and this inevitably implies that Ogygia is after all the island of Cronus. The explanation of this difficulty which seems most plausible to me is that Plutarch has muddled himself by the really superfluous introduction of Ogygia in imitation of the Platonic scheme.²

The probability that Plutarch is drawing directly upon the *Timaeus* is increased by the fact that both speak of the western continent and of the muddiness and shallowness of the Atlantic in close connection. They give different reasons for it; Plato (*Timaeus* 25D and *Critias* 108E) says that it is caused by the sinking of Atlantis; Plutarch, whose story supposes islands still to exist in the Atlantic, could not adopt this explanation, and attributes the muddiness to deposits brought down by the rivers of the great continent. Both are perhaps attempts to explain what was either

388). The Hyperboreans lived on an island opposite what is vaguely called *ἡ Κελτική*; they were devoted to the service of Apollo, as Plutarch's islanders to that of Cronus; they were on friendly terms with the Greeks, especially the Athenians and Delians, and there was a tradition that their country had been visited by Greeks, who left behind costly offerings inscribed in Greek characters. One of their number, Abaris, visited Greece and renewed the old friendship with the Delians. (On this cf. A. D. Nock, *C.R.* 1929, p. 126.) The moon appeared to be quite close in the land of the Hyperboreans, so that the inequalities of its surface could be clearly seen. This is the substance of what is preserved by Diodorus, and it is surely not going too far to regard Hecataeus as one of Plutarch's sources for this part of his work, used perhaps in conjunction with an account of Abaris by Heraclides Ponticus (cf. *de aud. poet.* 14E). The holy people who had been visited by Greeks and who

send one of their number in historic times to return the visit are features common to both stories, and the theory which Plutarch favours about the markings on the moon is mentioned as a fact in the work of Hecataeus. The stranger Abaris travelled about in Greece and gave prophecies (Lycurgus fr. 85, Blass), and Plutarch's stranger is introduced as giving religious instruction; moreover, Abaris is said by Pausanias (3. 13. 2) to have founded a temple to *Κόρη σώτειρα* at Sparta, and the gist of the instruction of Plutarch's stranger to Sulla is that men should honour the moon, whose name is *Κόρη* as well as *Φερεφώνη*, more than they do.

¹ *Timaeus* 24E (A. E. Taylor's translation).

² Böckh, quoted by Humboldt, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die hist. Entw. der geogr. Kenntniss von der neuen Welt*, 1. 177, thought that Ogygia was the island of Cronus, and that *ὡς ἐν μῦθῳ* at 941A must be altered to *ἐν δὲ τῇ Ὀγυγίᾳ* or *ἐν δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ*, but this seems most improbable.

an observed fact or else a well-established report, spread at first by the Carthaginians, who wished to preserve their monopoly outside the Straits of Gibraltar.¹ I am more inclined to think, however, that, while this may possibly have been the origin of Plato's statement, Plutarch has merely accepted from him the fact that the ocean is muddy and shallow, and added an explanation of this which will be consistent with the rest of his story.²

I turn now to the philosophical portion of the myth, of which the main point is that it is as great an error to consider mind a part of soul as soul a part of body. Man is a compound of three parts, mind (*voûs*), soul (*ψυχή*) and body, and these three parts come from different sources, mind from the sun, soul from the moon, and body from the earth. Accordingly the death which we die on earth liberates mind and soul together from the body, and the two fly up to the space between the earth and the moon, where they are punished and purified. The moon receives after purification the souls of the just; there they enjoy the delights of paradise, though they sometimes come down to earth to supervise oracles and mysteries, and to punish the wicked and help the good; and there finally, if they do not by sin incur the punishment of reincarnation, the second death takes place. Mind returns to the sun which was its source; soul lingers for some time on the moon in a shadowy existence and then fades away. The myth ends with an account of the opposite process of incarnation. The sun sows mind, the moon receives it and makes new souls, and finally earth provides body. Over each of these processes a fate presides, Atropos in the sun, Clotho in the moon, Lachesis on earth. Soul occupies a middle place between mind and body, just as the moon does between the sun and the earth.

As with the narrative part of the myth I shall confine myself here to examining what I consider to be Plutarch's relation to a Platonic prototype. That here also he had a definite model before him is rendered antecedently probable by his imitation of the *Phaedo* in the *de genio Socratis*, of the myth of Er in the Thespisus myth of the *de vindicta*, and of the Atlantis story in the first part of the myth under discussion, and consideration of his treatment of the 'two deaths' belief, which is the central point of the myth and has generally been held to constitute its distinctive peculiarity, suffices to turn this probability into a certainty.

The doctrine of the tripartite soul, consisting of τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές, and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, which is adopted by Socrates in *Republic* 435D as a short and convenient, though inaccurate, classification, and which is elaborated in a mythical form in the *Phaedrus*, is rightly held to be the characteristic feature of the Platonic psychology. But in the *Timaëus* it is presented in a new form, which bears a remarkable similarity to the theory of the *de facie*. The tripartite division is retained, but it is combined with a new principle of classification. The soul has an immortal and a mortal part: the former is identical with τὸ λογιστικόν; the latter contains as subdivisions both τὸ θυμοειδές and τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν. It is but a step from this distinction to the distinction between *voûs* and *ψυχή* made by Plutarch, and a closer examination of the *Timaëus* account of the creation of souls reveals further points of similarity.

We are told, for example, that in creating the universe the Demiurge put mind into the 'visible,' and, because mind cannot exist without soul, he put mind in soul and soul in body and so completed the whole. λογισάμενος οὖν ἡρῆσκειν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὁρατῶν οὐδὲν ἀνοητὸν τοῦ νοῦν ἔχοντος ὅλον ὅλον κάλλιον ἔσεσθαι ποτε ἔργον, νοῦς δ'

¹ Cf. Stewart, *Myths of Plato*, 466 and Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*, 97, who give references to several geographical writers later than Plato testifying to the muddiness of the Atlantic.

² For a survey and criticism of the long-lived

belief, shared by Kepler, that Plutarch's story is not imaginary, but refers to an actual discovery of America by the ancients, cf. E. Ebner, *Geogr. Hinweise u. Anklänge in Plutarchs Schrift 'de facie'*, Münch. Geogr. Stud., 19 (1906).

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αὐ χωρὶς ψυχῆς ἀδύνατον παραγενέσθαι τῷ. Διὰ δὲ τὸν λογισμὸν τόνδε νοῦν μὲν ἐν ψυχῇ, ψυχὴν δ' ἐν σώματι συννιστάς τὸ πᾶν συνεκταίνετο (30B). This clearly implies a distinction between νοῦς and ψυχή, and we have here the same terminology as Plutarch uses.

What immediately concerns us, however, is the production of human souls, which is described at *Timaeus* 41D ff. When the Demiurge has created the world-soul he takes what is left of the constituents of the mixture of which he made it, and mixes them, and distributes the mixture among the stars, which are equal in number to the souls which are thus created. To them on the stars he explains the laws of the universe and the necessity of their incarnation on the planets; their conjunction with a body will expose them to sensation, pleasure, pain, desire, fear, and anger, that is, to the passions of the two lower parts of the soul, but those who live well will return each to his own star and live there a happy and congenial life. The evil, on the other hand, will be reincarnated in ever more degraded forms, beginning with that of woman, until they show some signs of amendment. The passage goes on as follows: διαθεσμοθετήσας δὲ πάντα αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, ἵνα τῆς ἔπειτα εἴῃ κακίας ἀναίτιος, ἐσπείρειν τοὺς μὲν εἰς γῆν, τοὺς δ' εἰς σελήνην, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὰλλα ὅσα ὄργανα χρόνου. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸν σπóρον τοῖς νεοῖς παρέδωκεν θεοῖς σώματα πλάττειν θνητά, τό τ' ἐπίλοιπον, ὅσον ἔτι ἦν ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης δέον προσγενέσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ἀκόλουθα ἐκείνοις ἀπεργασαμένους ἀρχειν, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἀριστα τὸ θνητὸν διακυβεῖν αὐτῶν ζῆον, ὅτι μὴ κακῶν αὐτὸ ἐαυτῷ γίγνοιτο αἴτιον.

The phrase ὅσον ἔτι ἦν ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης δέον προσγενέσθαι is explained and amplified in a later passage (69C): οἱ δὲ (sc. the created gods) μιμούμενοι παραλαβόντες ἀρχὴν ψυχῆς ἀθάνατον τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο θνητὸν σῶμα περιετόρνευσαν, ὅχημά τε πᾶν τὸ σῶμα ἔδωκαν, ἄλλο τε εἶδος ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχῆς προσφοδόμουν τὸ θνητόν. This mortal part of the soul contained the passions which were enumerated above, and was placed in different regions of the body from the divine part in order that the latter might not be defiled by it.

If we compare this description with the *de facie* we find many points of similarity. First, the divine and mortal parts come in both cases from different sources. In the *Timaeus* the Demiurge himself creates the divine part, a function ascribed to the sun in the *de facie*: the mortal part is added by the 'created' gods, a class which includes both gods who show themselves when they will, the gods, in fact, of the traditional mythology, and ever visible gods, that is, the planets. It is one of these latter, the moon, which adds soul to mind in the *de facie*.

I have already given the substance of the address of the Demiurge to the souls when they are on the stars. The fact that they are so addressed before the addition of the mortal part shows that mind alone is the true self, and is completely in accord with the statement of Plutarch at 944F that αὐτὸς . . . ἕκαστος ἡμῶν οὐ θυμὸς ἐστὶν οὐδὲ φόβος οὐδὲ ἐπιθυμία, καθάπερ οὐδὲ σάρκες οὐδὲ ὑγρότητες, ἀλλ' ὃ διανοούμεθα καὶ φρονοῦμεν. The promise that those who live well shall return each to his own star must mean that the divine part of the soul shall return thither, and thus corresponds to the return of mind to the sun in the *de facie*. Finally, it may be noticed that in both Plato and Plutarch reincarnation is the punishment of sin.

An even more convincing point is the description of the placing of souls in the planets as a sowing (*Timaeus* 42D). This is the word used by Plutarch of the sending down of mind from the sun to the moon, a stage in the creation of man identical with that for which the same word is used by Plato.¹

We have seen that on general grounds it is probable that Plutarch is following a Platonic model in the *de facie* myth, and we may now safely conclude that that model was the *Timaeus*. By this I mean only that Plutarch intended the myth to

¹ This point has been noticed by R. M. Jones, *The Platonism of Plutarch*, p. 51.

hold in his philosophical system the same place as he believed the *Timaean* to hold in that of Plato; such imitation in general scheme does not, of course, exclude the use of other sources, whose investigation lies outside the scope of the present argument,¹ but it clears up a difficulty which has been felt with regard to the construction of the myth, and which has been used by von Arnim to support his theory of its origin. The slightness and clumsiness of the connection between the narrative introduction and the myth proper led him to conclude that the myth as it stands could not be the product of a single brain, and that the narrative could not have been written originally to introduce the 'moon-daemonology' which it in fact introduces, but must have been taken over by Plutarch with not much change from a 'phantastischer Reiseroman,' which he had already used in *de def. orac.* ch. 18.²

¹ It is, I think, generally admitted that the eschatology of Plutarch is ultimately based upon that of Plato, but the nature of the intermediate steps in the process of transformation has been the object of much dispute. R. Heinze, *Xenocrates*, pp. 125 ff. divided the *de facie* myth between Xenocrates and Poseidonius on the score of alleged inconsistencies, which von Arnim, *Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik*, pp. 47 ff. has shown to be not grave enough to justify such a division. K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympathie*, pp. 313 ff. analyzes the myth, on very slender grounds, into three parts, one of which, the psychological theory that mind comes from the sun and soul from the moon, he ascribes to Poseidonius. Apart from the weakness of the positive evidence which he brings (cf. R. M. Jones, *Poseidonius and solar eschatology in Classical Philology*, 1932, pp. 116 ff.), this possibility seems to be definitely excluded by the evidence of Galen, *De Plac. Hipp. et Plat.*, where it is repeatedly stated that, though Poseidonius rejected the view of Chrysippus that passions are merely affections of the judgment, and adopted the Platonic classification of τὸ λογιστικόν, τὸ θυμοειδές and τὸ επιθυμητικόν, he held that these were only faculties of a single substance, not μέρη or εἶδη, as Plato had called them. Cf. especially p. 501 (Müller): ὁ δὲ Ἀριστοτέλης τε καὶ ὁ Ποσειδώνιος εἶδη μὲν ἢ μέρη ψυχῆς οὐκ ὀνομάζουσι, δυνάμεις δὲ εἶναι φασὶ μᾶς οὐσίας ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ὁρμωμένους. I hope to deal in detail with the whole question of the sources of Plutarch's myths on another occasion.

² Op. cit. pp. 42 ff. Von Arnim, though he rightly rejects most of Heinze's arguments, attempts himself to prove that the myth proper also must be derivative. His argument runs as follows (pp. 65 ff.). He shows that the passage describing the substance of the moon in ch. 29 is essential to the myth, since it brings out the parallel between mind, soul, body, and sun, moon, earth. In each of these series the middle place is occupied by a mixed body. The moon, according to Plutarch, is an ἀστρον σύγκραμα καὶ γῆς (943E), and soul is μικτὸν καὶ μέσον, καθάπερ ἡ σελήνη τῶν ἀνω καὶ κάτω σύμμιγμα καὶ μετακέρasma ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γέγονε (945D). Plutarch praises Xenocrates for having had some notion of the

intermediate nature of the moon, but the system given as that of Xenocrates does not agree with that of Plutarch in that it does not make the moon a mixture of fire and earth. This von Arnim considers to be the central point of the myth, and he concludes 'dass der Mythos seinem materiellen Gedankengehalte nach nicht nur nicht von Xenocrates sondern auch nicht von Plutarch stammen kann. Denn nur wenn Plutarch den Mythos von einem andern Autor übernahm, konnte er seinen Sinn so ungenau auffassen, dass er ihn für übereinstimmend mit der Lehre des Xenocrates hielt.'

But has Plutarch misunderstood the doctrine of the composition of the soul which he expounds? Von Arnim admits that it is impossible to know of what elements soul can be compounded, although it is called μικτὸν καὶ μέσον. It would be ridiculous to suppose that it is compounded of mind and body; why then does the main point of the parallel lie in the moon's being compounded of astral fire and earth?

Again, what can the words μικτὸν καὶ μέσον mean? Von Arnim has no suggestion to offer, but surely the most reasonable supposition is that soul is of a nature intermediate between immaterial mind and material body, being in fact an extremely tenuous vapour. (At 945A soul is said to retain the shape of the body; it feeds on exhalations, and the effect of purification is to render it bright and transparent. Cf. *de vindicta* 564AB.) This is just the point for which Xenocrates is praised, (ὅπως δὲ μήτε τὸ πυκνὸν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μήτε τὸ μαρὸν εἶναι ψυχῆς δεκτικόν), and his view of the nature of the moon corresponds to what I suppose to be Plutarch's view of the nature of the soul, in making it of a density (τὸ δεύτερον πυκνόν) midway between those of the sun and earth (τὸ πρῶτον πυκνόν and τὸ τρίτον πυκνόν).

Finally, von Arnim has involved himself in a manifest contradiction; on p. 53 he emphasizes the fact 'dass die Lehre des Xenocrates als der richtigen (offenbarten) Lehre nahe verwandt u. ähnlich, nicht als mit ihr identisch gelobt wird.'

On p. 36 there is a second argument. Von Arnim believes the *de genio* myth to contain two inconsistent doctrines, and concludes that neither can be Plutarch's own. It follows that the sub-

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But, if the argument for imitation of the *Timaues* in both parts of the myth be accepted, this very lack of connection becomes evidence for, not against, Plutarch's originality. The *Timaues* begins with* an imaginary account of Atlantis and proceeds, without intrinsically necessary connection, to the discussion of questions of cosmogony and zoogony; the *de facie* myth is introduced by a story about Cronus with many points of resemblance to the story of Atlantis, and goes on to expound a theory of the nature of the soul which is ultimately based upon the theories of the *Timaues*. I believe that Plutarch, having the *Timaues* before him, has deliberately made his myth a copy in miniature of that dialogue; he would then be content with a link between the two parts of his own work as superficial as that between the corresponding parts of his model.

'There are points,' says Simmias in the *de genio*, 'at which even the mythical touches the truth,'¹ and the object of this paper is to suggest a criterion by which we may determine what these points are, and what portions of Plutarch's myths are to be regarded as containing serious philosophic truth. If the *de facie* myth is a copy of the *Timaues* its psychological theories must be intended by Plutarch to be taken in the same spirit as the cosmogony and zoogony of the Platonic work. Now it is true that *Timaues* himself calls his exposition of the creation of the universe and of living creatures no more than a 'probable tale,' which he asks his hearers to accept if they find no other more probable, but in which they must not be surprised to find discrepancies and inexactitudes,² and language such as this recalls that of the *Phaedo*,³ and seems to place the *Timaues* on the same level as the other Platonic myths. Yet it is impossible not to feel that it is written with a much more scientific purpose, even if we do not go so far as to accept Professor Taylor's thesis that it is a manual of contemporary Pythagorean science. Fortunately the argument which I wish to base upon Plutarch's imitation of it is independent of the difficult question how Plato intended his work to be interpreted. The important point for my present purpose is that, whatever the meaning which Plato meant to convey, Plutarch at any rate received the cosmogonical doctrine of the *Timaues* as serious philosophy. This is shown by his treatise *de animae procreatione in Timaeo*, in which he maintained in opposition to many ancient critics, such as Xenocrates and Crantor, that Plato intended his readers to believe in the literal sense that the world and its soul were created in time.⁴

If, then, the second part of the *de facie* myth is meant to hold a place in the whole corresponding to that of *Timaues*' discourse in the *Timaues*, we are justified in inferring that Plutarch, who regarded that discourse as in the main serious doctrine, must have intended the corresponding portion of his own myth to contain an equally serious exposition of his beliefs concerning the nature and fate of the soul. This conclusion is confirmed by the tone of the passage in question, which contains nothing which would suggest that it is not meant to be taken literally, and which is introduced by no such apology as those which preface the myths of the *de genio* and the *de vindicta*.⁵ It is true that Sulla, in whose mouth the whole is placed, calls it a myth, but this term is also applied by Plato to the discourse of *Timaues*, a fact

stance of the *de facie* myth, which agrees with one of the parts of the *de genio*, cannot be Plutarch's either. I hope to show in a subsequent paper that no inconsistency is to be found in the *de genio* myth.

¹ 589F: ἔστιν ὅπη ψαύει τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ μυθώδες.

² 29D: εἰν ἄρα μηδενὸς ἦτον παρεχόμεθα εἰκότας (sc. λόγους) ἀγαπᾶν χρῆ, μεμνημένους ὡς ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ ὑμεῖς τε οἱ κριταὶ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔχομεν, ὥστε

περὶ τοῦτον τὸν εἰκότα μῦθον ἀποδεχομένους πρέπει τοῦτον μηδὲν ἐπὶ πέρα ζητεῖν.

³ 114D: τὸ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα δυσχερῆσθαι οὕτως ἔχειν ὡς ἐγὼ διελήλυθα, οὐ πρέπει νοῦν ἔχοντι ἀνδρὶ, ὅτι μέντοι ἡ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαῦτ' ἄλλα . . . τοῦτο καὶ πρέπει μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἄξιον κινδυνεύσαι οἰομένῳ οὕτως ἔχειν.

⁴ *De an. procr.* 1013E ff. Cf. also *de vindicta*, 550D.

⁵ *De genio* 589F; *de vindicta* 561B.

which, as we have seen, did not deter Plutarch from giving that discourse a literal interpretation.

Of course it cannot be maintained by this argument that every detail of the second part of the *de facie* myth is to be regarded as dogma; that would be as absurd as to conclude from the fact that Plutarch took the theories of the *Timaeus* seriously that he regarded the address of the Demiurge to the souls as the record of an historical event. All that I wish to establish is that Plutarch meant the main point of his myth, the distinction between mind and soul and their derivation from the sun and moon respectively, to be regarded as literal and not symbolic.

The argument can be pushed a step further, and the conclusion reached concerning the *de facie* applied to the myth of the *de genio*, which contains a passage on the constitution of the soul expressed in far more abstract language than the doctrine of the *de facie*, but essentially identical with it. In a subsequent paper I hope to examine the relation of this passage to the *de facie*, and to demonstrate its consistency with the rest of the myth of the *de genio*.

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MONS VIRGILII AND THE MANTUAN TERRAIN.¹

AFTER reading the article by Professor R. S. Conway, 'Vergil, Probus and Pietole Again,'² I should like to make certain observations on the points that concern me.

The first refers to the *Mons Virgilii*. Professor Conway, who is evidently satisfied with the edition of the *Vita Probiana* published by Sabbadini,³ and with the notes Sabbadini has added to it, speaks in particular of the testimony of Bremio: 'Locum appellat incolae Montem Virgilii,' etc. I do not propose to discuss here the accuracy or the critical acumen of Sabbadini as shown in the preparation of this mediocre edition, nor to repeat what I have already said on this subject;⁴ but I cannot refrain from noting that the reading of *milia passuum XXX* certainly takes us outside of what can be conjectured to have been the *ager Mantuanus*, whether in the direction of Brescia or in that of Verona. That Egnatius corrected this error in his text is a purely arbitrary conjecture on the part of Sabbadini, who has not perceived that the Venetian edition, on careful examination, shows a much greater fidelity to the *vetustas* of the Codex of Bobbio than VPM and the Roman edition of Bussi. In proof of this it will be sufficient to cite the fate that befell the lacunae, which Egnatius respected, and the strange inversion of the phrase *bellum uteranis post mutinense* which would make the most humble schoolmaster smile, but which on the contrary pleased Sabbadini! Again, his estimate of the value of the Vatican Codex is undermined by the observations of Monsignor Giovanni Mercati,⁵ who not only affirms that the Cod. Vat. is of the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, but also holds 'that Egnatius, even if he did not have the actual original, must at least have had a copy made from this directly (and not the one made by the Pomponiani) after the original was disarranged and five pages lost, and published it accurately in his first edition of Virgil, Venezia, 1507.'⁶

But Sabbadini exceeds all limits when, taking his stand on the phrase of Bremio 'cum tamen nullus ibi mons habeatur,' he seems to wish to deny the existence of the *Mons Virgilii* at Pietole.

That there was a slight elevation on the bank of the Mincio to which was given the name of *Mons Virgilii* is proved by a document of the thirteenth century preserved in the Archivio Gonzaga in Mantova (Busta 3392), and already seen by Ferruccio Carreri.⁷ In that is found a mention of *Johannes de Saca de Monte Virgilii*. The fact that an allusion in such terms occurs in a notarial document regarding the home of Giovanni de Saca would seem to indicate that *Mons Virgilii* was at that time a popular mode of designating the locality, like the *Fossatum Virgilii*, which is found in a document of the first half of the eleventh century.⁸ Boccaccio also makes explicit mention of this *Mons Virgilii* in the *De fluminibus*, s.v. *Mincius*: 'Equidem memorabilis Maronis Virgilii diuino carmine decantatus, et eius origine; nam in Ande, villa eius in marginibus sita, natum aiunt haud plus duo M. pas. a Mantua. Vocant tamen hodie Pietcola⁹ et gloriatur tanti uatis incolatu. Ad cuius seruandam memoriam paruo cumulo eius contiguo *Virgilii montis* imposuere nomen asserentes ibidem agros fuisse suos.' Prendilacqua also, who was the disciple of Vittorino da

¹ This article was sent by Professor Nardi in the form of a letter (dated January, 1933) to Professor E. K. Rand, who revised and adapted a translation of the letter.

² *C.Q.*, 1932, XXVI, pp. 209-214.

³ *Historia*, 1932, VI, 1.

⁴ *Atti e Memorie della Reale Accademia Virgiliana di Mantova*, 1931, N.S., vol. XXII, pp. 211-218.

⁵ *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, vol. VIII, 1932, p. 27.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁷ *De luco Virgilii in agro plebulensi sacrandu*, reprinted from *Classici e Neolatini*, VI (1910), 2-3, Aosta, p. 9.

⁸ Cf. P. Torelli, *Reg. Mantov.* I, p. 43.

⁹ So MS. Ambrosiano D, Inf., fol. 60r.

Feltre at Mantova, remarks: 'Virgilii montem incolae apellant aliquanto ceteris eminentiorem atque in collis altitudinem porrectum.'¹

Moreover, Bremio shows that he knows this hillock very well, and refers to it thus: 'cum . . . sit . . . iter sursum uersus faciendum et ascensu superandus fluminis alueus . . . illa utique forma *uisa est*, quam de agro ipso, Ecloga nona, Poeta his uersibus complexus est: *Certe equidem audieram*, etc.' Of course there is no question of a Mount Everest, nor even of a Mont Blanc: it is a question of a *cumulus*, an elevation in the valley of the Mincio at least comparable to that of the *Mons Palatinus* in the Roman Forum. 'Upon the Hill' the English traveller Hoby² likewise saw that 'little bricke house' of which both Boccaccio³ and Bremio speak. It is significant that all these writers, in referring to the Virgilian tradition of Pietole, agree in emphasizing the frankly popular character of the evidence.

Professor Conway says that Professor Sabbadini, who was for some time teaching at Milan, 'has of course visited Pietole himself.' I am not quite sure: especially I am not quite sure that even if Professor Sabbadini has seen Pietole, he has also seen the locality to which the Virgilian tradition refers? I do not understand that 'of course.' I know many people who live at Milan and even nearer, who nevertheless have never seen Pietole, or who, if they have seen modern Pietole, have not seen the place consecrated by Virgilian tradition, the centre of which is precisely the *Mons Virgilii*. That may well be the case, inasmuch as the great disturbances which have occurred in the district since the sixteenth century have led to its exact site being forgotten; and only after the research undertaken first by Carreri and continued by me has it been possible to rediscover that site with absolute certainty on the small hillock on the bank of the Mincio that is to-day occupied by the Napoleonic fort of Pietole. I would further remark that this belief was based, until very recently, solely on a few indications, the validity of which was denied by a certain scholar,⁴ and that only a short time ago did I have the good fortune to come upon a notarial document which turned my belief into certainty. In a notarial deed of June 5, 1445, that records the sale by the Marchese Ludovico Gonzaga to Ser Giovanni de Boziis of four pieces of land, two of which were actually on the *Mons Virgilii*, one reads: Item unam peciam terre uineate, iacentem in dicto loco et territorio (Pletularum), *in contrata montis Virgilij*, bobulcarum trium, tabularum quadraginta trium et pedum quatuor, penes Reinerum de Bredoldo in parte, Dominum Appolonium de Paulinis in parte, ab uno latere, uersus orientem; Petrum de Coradis, a secundo, uersus meridiem: Johannem de Spilimberto pro iuribus consortij, a tercio, uersus occidentem; et infrascriptam peciam tere boschiue, saliciue et ualliue, a quarto uersus montes. Item unam peciam terre *boschiue*, salliciue et ualliue, iacentem *in loco* predicto, penes supradictam peciam terre uineate, ab uno latere, uersus meridiem; Johannem de Spilimberto, a secundo, pro iuribus consortij, uersus occidentem; Reinerum predictum, uersus orientem, a tercio; et canale lacus quod defluit de uasio Ceresij, a quarto, uersus montes.⁵ There was present at this attestation by the Notary Jacobus de Andreasiis, the 'clarissimus et litteratissimus uir, magister Victorinus Feltrensis, qui predictam uenditionem tractauit.' Giovanni de Spilimberto was renting a 'pecia terre uineate unius bobulce' which, as we know, from a document in the Archivio Gonzaga,⁶ was in the place called *Mons Virgilii territorij Cerexij*, and adjoined the preceding places. Therefore the *Mons Virgilii* was situated on the boundary between the parish of Pietole and that of Cerese, partly in the one and partly in the other, and was bounded by the *canale lacus*, that is, by the

¹ Cited in *The Youth of Virgil* (translated by Mrs. E. K. Rand, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, p. 121.

² Cited in *The Youth of Virgil*, p. 122.

³ *Vita di Dante*, XVIII.

⁴ Cf. *Atti e Memoria* of the R. Accademia di Mantova, N.S., vol. XXII, 1931, pp. 201-211.

⁵ Archivio Gonzaga, Busta 249.

⁶ Osped., 48, fol. 220v.

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present-day canal of Paiolo, exactly where Napoleon constructed the fort of Pietole.¹

Professor Conway has been kind enough to refer to a visit which we made together to the *Mons Virgilii* in April, 1930. I have most pleasant memories of this excursion, which allowed me several hours of intercourse with a cultured scholar and a lover of Virgil's poetry; when fortune such as this befalls one, one should thank heaven for it. I remember perfectly that on that sunny April afternoon we followed on foot, he and I, the country lane which leads from the Ponte di Ceresè to Pietole. Arriving at the first elevation near the Streggia, Professor Conway paused a moment to observe the valley of the Toppi through which ran the canal of Paiolo, and said to me that on his former visits to Pietole he had not noticed these hillocks—a feature that coincides perfectly with the photographs inserted in his article *Where was Virgil's Farm?*, all of them taken from the lowlands around the Villa Virgiliana. He also said to me that he found these little elevations higher than he had thought. Speaking then of the interpretation of Eclogues I and IX, and pursuing our way along the side of these hillocks, we arrived at the *Mons Virgilii*, which was some metres higher than the surrounding country, and which dominates the valley of the Mincio. On the *Mons Virgilii* we met his students and his English friends who had chosen to accompany him on this visit. Looking from this point at the Mincio, which was then swollen by the flood, he exclaimed: 'Truly *ingens*!' and again he said that he had not before seen the Virgilian river from this point. Together with the rest of the party, we descended to the edge of the marsh, and I, indicating the gravelly slopes coming down '*usque ad aquam*' and a bed of muddy reeds which the flood had deposited at the foot of the hillocks, recited the verses of the first Eclogue:

Fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt,
Et tibi magna satis, quamuis lapis omnia nudus
Limosoque palus obducatur pascua iunco.

Professor Conway replied that he saw the *palus*, certainly, and the *limosus iuncus*, but not the *lapis nudus*, which to him would suggest the rocky face of a mountain. I replied that *lapis nudus* was the gravelly slope, and reminded him of the *agri lapidosi* mentioned in an early gloss by Servius Danielis on Eclogue IX, 7. He admitted that that was possible, but he seemed unconvinced. I also referred to the Filargirian gloss according to which the farm of Virgil was situated 'a monte ad lacum et inde ad arborem quandam'; and he who at first had found in Dante the origin of the tradition of Pietole as Virgil's birthplace, had no difficulty in admitting that such a tradition might have gone back to the grammarians of the fourth and fifth centuries. After having pointed out to him the precise place where Old Pietole, destroyed by Napoleon, stood, we directed our steps to the villa of the Avv. Ugo. Prati, where I showed Professor Conway and his friends some prehistoric cinerary urns, together with flint weapons and pieces of Roman money found near Old Pietole not far from the *Mons Virgilii*. There we separated, not without mutual expressions of a desire that some day we might come to an agreement on this minor point, as we were already in accord in our love for the great Latin Poet.

I turn now to speak of what Professor Conway writes in his *Postscriptum* on page 214. All of the authorities cited by me,² and particularly Paglia, Lombardini and Averone, deal at length with hydrographical facts pointed out by me, chiefly regarding the change of the Po's course. At any rate, if he wishes to know the precise pages in

¹ I have found concerning the *Mons Virgilii* many other documents about which I shall speak in a study dealing with the mediaeval topography of Pietole. This will appear in the next volume of the *Atti e Memorie* of the R. Accademia Vir-

giliana in Mantova (N.S. Vol. XXIII). See also my article *La tradizione virgiliana di Pietole nel medio evo*, in the volume *Virgilio nel medio evo* (Studi Medievali, V).

² *The Youth of Virgil*, pp. 110-111.

which mention is made of the facts which justify my remarks, I can readily supply them: Paglia, *Saggio di studi naturali sul territorio mantovano*, Mantova, 1897, pp. 235-272; Lombardini, *Intorno al sistema idraulico del Po ed ai principali cambiamenti che ha subito*, Milano, 1840, pp. 23-93; id., *Della condizione idraulica della pianura subappennina fra l'Enza e il Panaro*, Milano, 1865, pp. 2-8; Averone, *Sull'antica idrografia veneta*, Mantova, 1911, pp. 161-219. To this list I add that very recent work by the most competent authority on Mantuan history, Professor Pietro Torelli, *Un comune cittadino in territorio ad economia agricola*, Verona, 1930, pp. 99-115, where the reader will find a fuller bibliography. Of course, in the statements of these writers it is necessary to distinguish what is certain from what is merely probable. Certain, above all, is the change of the course of the Po in the direction of Mantuan territory, which occurred about the year 1100, at which time the documents begin to show a distinction between the *Padus nouus* and the *Padus ueclus*; it is equally certain that from then on Mantua no longer had on her borders merely the *stagnum Mincio amni effusum*¹ (which I consider to be identical with Virgil's *palus*), at the foot of the elevations of Pietole, but began to see about her an extensive swamp, formed by the overflowing of the Mincio. For these facts I did not appeal to documentary evidence, since they are well known and commonly accepted; I contented myself with a reference to works that contain ample discussion of these facts. But another thing is also certain, namely that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the small hillocks on the right bank of the Mincio were still covered with woods, as in the time of Sidonius Apollinaris; and for this assertion I did cite documentary proof, furnishing exact references, so that Professor Conway may check the accuracy of my statements. From these certain premises I think I am authorized in drawing a conclusion which seems legitimate; it is that the little hillocks of Pietole, clothed as they were in woods, must have appeared in ancient times somewhat higher than in our day, to one who looked at them from the valley of the Mincio, which must have been several metres lower than it now is, because not yet invaded by the flooding of the Po. Furthermore, the countryside must have taken on a quite different look after the disturbances due to the military works of the Napoleonic period and the construction of the new embankments.

Finally, à propos of the citation from Strabo, the words *αἵται μὲν οὖν πολὺ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑλῶν κ.τ.λ.*² refer to what was said a little earlier³: *ἅπαντα μὲν οὖν ἡ χώρα* (that is, Cisalpine Gaul) *ποταμοῖς πληθύνει καὶ ἔλεσι, μάλιστα δ' ἡ τῶν Ἑνετῶν*.

Strabo speaks, therefore, not of the swamps at the mouth of the Po, but of the marshes of Cisalpine Gaul in general, and states that Mantua is much higher than these. If, then, I cited the passage from Strabo concerning Hannibal's march as hindered by the marshes between the Po and the Appennines,⁴ it was to demonstrate how the aspect of the Po Valley has changed during more than two thousand years. Does it seem to Professor Conway that this observation is 'quite irrelevant'?

I ask this question of my good friend with no desire to offend him, sure that he is no less attached than I am to ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας.

BRUNO NARDI.

MANTOVA.

¹ Livy XXIV 10, 7.

² V 1, 6.

³ V 1, 5.

⁴ V 1, 1.

THE OCCASION OF ALCMAN'S PARTHENEION.

MOST recent critics of Alcman's Partheneion have assumed that it was composed for a festival of Artemis Orthia, and have strengthened their case by adopting the scholiast's reading of 'Ορθία at 61 and assuming that 'Αώτι at 87 can only refer to Artemis. The case for Artemis has been made more popular by the excavations of her shrine, which have revealed copious evidence of a rich and popular cult with which festivals of maidens must have been connected. But on a closer examination the case for Artemis Orthia is seen to be based on fallacious evidence. First, let us consider the scholiast's suggestion of 'Ορθία which Bergk read at 61. The passage is of some difficulty, but the MS. reading

ταὶ Πελειάδες γὰρ ἄμιν
ὀρθραὶ φάρος φερόισαι
νύκτα δι' ἀμβροσίαν ἄτε Σήριον
ἄστρον ἀνδρομένην μάχονται.

makes good sense with ὀρθραὶ meaning 'at day-break' and agreeing with ταὶ Πελειάδες. There is no real case for emendation based on the reading being unintelligible or unmetrical. On the other hand the form 'Ορθία is open to objections. The correct form is known from inscriptions and would be *Fortheia* or *Forthaia*. The omission of the digamma need not surprise us, as the papyrus is careless in its treatment of it, but the second syllable is long as we know from *I.G.* V 1, 255

Fortheia τὰδ' Ἀρ[χ]ῆπιπος νικῶν ἀνέσθηκε
ἐν συνόδοις πα[ρ]ῶν πᾶσιν κορὴν φανερά.

If we read the correct form *Fortheia* at 61, we get a long syllable in the second place of a trochaic dipody which is against the metrical practice of the poem.

Secondly, there is no good argument for identifying Artemis with the 'Αώτι of 87. Diehl¹ quotes in support the mention of Ἀρτεμὶς Προσηγία in Plutarch *Vit. Themist.* 8, but the normal meaning of *προσηγίος*, given for instance by Theocritus 4, 33 καὶ τὸ ποταφὸν τὸ Λακίνιον, is 'facing the East' and Ἀρτεμὶς Προσηγία is naturally interpreted as Artemis whose temple faces the east. The argument would be stronger if any case could be found where Artemis is associated or identified with the Dawn. But no such case has been found, and the evidence points in the opposite direction; for by the time of Aeschylus Artemis was already a moon-goddess.

ὡς οὐτε πέμφει ἡλίου προσδέρεται
οὐτ' ἀστερωπὸν ὄμμα Λητώας κόρης
(fr. 170 Sidgwick).

The case for Artemis is then poorly founded, and we are free to look round for some more suitable divinities. A clue may be found in the words ἄμιν φάρος φερόισαι. The maidens are bringing a φάρος. The advocates of Artemis alter to φᾶρος and assume that the maidens are bringing to the goddess a robe, as the Trojan women do to Athena in *Iliad* VI 297 ff. and the Elean women did to Hera in Elis (Paus. V 16, 2). But the papyrus reading is not φᾶρος but φάρος, and the meaning is given not only by the superscription ἄστρον but also by the scholiast's φάρος Σωσιφάνης ἄστρον. That φάρος can mean plough is shown by Callimachus fr. 183 ἄφαρον φαρῶσι and by

¹ Ad loc. *Anth. Lyr.* II, p. 15.

Herodian π. μον. λεξ. 39, 32 καὶ οὐδέτερον, ὅποτε σημαντικὸν τοῦ ἱματίου ἢ καὶ τοῦ ἀρότρου ὡς καὶ παρ' Ἀλκμᾶνι. The word φάρος then means 'plough,' and there is no justification for altering it to φᾶρος, 'robe,' if we can find that ploughs were associated with gods or goddesses. The advocates of Artemis can find no more than a bronze sickle won in a musical competition and dedicated to Artemis.¹

On the other hand the offering of a plough is natural if the deity concerned is connected with agriculture. In this particular case a suitable object of the cult is Dionysus. He was, of course, especially a god of fruit-trees, but several indications show that he was also a god of agriculture and of corn. Himerius (*Or.* i 10) speaks of him as a husbandman, Διόνυσος γεωργεῖ and he was said to be the first to yoke oxen to the plough. Diodorus (iii 64, 1-3, iv 4, 1) says that he helps the husbandman by guiding the ploughshare and scattering the seed as he goes. The pseudo-Aristotelian *Mirab. Auscult.* 122 says that among the Bisaltae in Thrace there was a sanctuary of Dionysus where at his festival a bright light shone if the harvest was going to be good, but there was no light if the crops were going to fail. Pindar (*Isthm.* vii 4) makes him a παῖδρος of Demeter, and his titles of Αἰξίτης in Arcadia, Κάριος in Thessaly and Σητάνειος at Teos show that he was a god of cereals.² Though not comparable to Demeter as a deity of agriculture, he had his agricultural side.

The case for Dionysus becomes plainer when we examine two references to Spartan cults during the fifth century. At the end of the *Lysistrata* the Chorus of Spartan women sing :

ᾗ τε πῶλοι ταὶ κόραι
παρ τὸν Εὐρώταν
ἀμπάλλοντι πυκνὰ ποδοῖν
ἀγκονίωαι,
ταὶ δὲ κόμαι σείονθ' ᾗπερ Βακχᾶν
θυρσαδδῶαν καὶ παιδδῶαν.
ἀγείται δ' ἅ Λήδας παῖς
ἀγνὰ χοραγὸς εὐπρεπής.

(1308-1315.)

'And the maidens, like fillies, beside Eurotas twinkle to and fro with nimble feet; and their tresses are waving as they go, like the tresses of Bacchanals sporting and flourishing their thyrsus-wands. Leda's daughter leads them, a pure and seemly leader of their dance.' Here not only is the dance of Helen's maidens compared to that of Bacchantes, but the dancers themselves are compared to foals, πῶλοι, a word of special significance in Laconian religion and of peculiar appropriateness here, as it seems to have been a technical name for the priestesses of Dionysus. Not merely does Euripides use it in *Bacchae* 163 πῶλος ὅπως ἅμα μητέρι φορβάδι and 1056 αἱ δ' ἐκλιπούσαι ποικίλ' ὡς πῶλοι ζυγά, but it seems also to have been a title of the priestesses of Dionysus at Sparta, who were known as Λευκιππίδες. At least such is the natural conclusion of Hesychius' entry πωλία· χαλκοῦν πῆγμά τι. φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰς τῶν Λευκιππίδων πῶλους. δύο δὲ εἶναι παρθένους φασίν. This can only mean that the πῶλοι of the Leucippides were maidens, and that the word was used as a title for their priestesses, as it was later for the priestesses of Demeter and Kore (*I.G.* V 1 594, 2. Αἰρηλίαν Ἐπαφρώ, πῶλον τοῖν ἀγιωτάτῳ θεοῖν γενομένην, ib. 1444A Ἀρισταγόρα Νικαγόρῳ πῶλος Δάματρι Κόραι ἀνέθηκε). If πῶλος was a genuine title for the priestess of Dionysus at Sparta, there was a particular point in Aristophanes' comparison of dancers and in Euripides' comparison of Bacchantes to fillies.

The same dances described by Aristophanes were also described by Euripides in

¹ Cf. S. Wide, *Lakonische Kulte*, p. 100.

² Cf. L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* V 118 ff.

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Helen 1465 ff. where the Chorus address Helen on the joys which await her in her native-land of Laconia,

ἢ που κόρας ἂν ποταμοῦ
παρ' οἶδμα Λευκιππίδας ἢ πρὸ ναοῦ
Παλλάδος ἂν λάβοις
χρόνῳ ξυνελθούσα χοροῖς

'Perchance thou mayest find the Leucippides by the river's water or before the shrine of Pallas joining in time with their dances.' The occasion is like that described by Aristophanes. Helen leads a dance by the river, but the important detail is added that the dancers are *Λευκιππίδες*. These *Λευκιππίδες* cannot be the goddesses worshipped at Sparta (Paus. II 16, 1 Plutarch *Quaest. Graec.* 48 I.G. V 1. 305), and must be the priestesses called by the same name but attached mysteriously to the cult of Dionysus. Pausanias gives some interesting details about them in his account of Sparta (III 13, 7), ἀπαντικρὺ δὲ ἢ τε ὀνομαζομένη Κολώνα καὶ Διονύσου Κολωνάτα ναός, πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ τέμενος ἐστὶν ἥρωος, ὃν τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς εἰς Σπάρτην Διονύσῳ φασὶ γενέσθαι ἡγεμόνα. τῷ δὲ ἥρωι τούτῳ πρὶν ἢ τῷ θεῷ θύουσιν αἱ Διονυσιάδες καὶ αἱ Λευκιππίδες. τὰς δὲ ἄλλας ἑνδεκα ἄς καὶ αὐτὰς Διονυσιάδας ὀνομάζουσι, ταύταις δρόμον προτιθέασιν ἀγῶνα. 'Opposite is the place named Colona and a temple of Dionysus Colonatas. Beside the temple is the precinct of the hero who is said to have guided Dionysus on his way to Sparta. To this hero the Dionysiades and the Leucippides sacrifice before they sacrifice to the god; but the other eleven women, whom they also name Dionysiades, are set to run a race.' From this curious combination of gods and cults emerges the fact that the Leucippides, whatever their origin and other functions, are connected with the cult of Dionysus. Therefore Aristophanes' use of Dionysiac language about them is as appropriate as his comparison of them to πῶλοι.

The Leucippides then were priestesses of Dionysus who performed dances in his honour. They were closely connected with another set of priestesses called *Διονυσιάδες*, whom Hesychius describes as ἐν Σπάρτῃ παρθένοι, αἱ ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις δρόμον ἀγωνιζόμεναι. Lucian also knows of Spartan dances to Dionysus and says (*de Salt.* 10) σχήματα παντοῖα ἐπιδείκνυνται πρὸς ῥυθμὸν ἐμβαίνοντες, ἄρτι μὲν πολεμικά, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ χορευτικά, ἃ Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ φίλια. The suggestion then begins to take shape that Alcman's maidens are the Leucippides and that their *θωστήρια* or festival¹ of 81 is a festival of Dionysus. In support of this we may first note the remarkable way in which Alcman compares the members of his chorus to fillies at 46-48, 50-51, 58-59 and 92-94. It is of course true that Anacreon addresses a Thracian girl as πῶλε Θρηκική (fr. 88 Diehl) and that Hesychius knows of πῶλους in the sense of τὰς νέας καὶ παρθένας. But the sustained comparison with fillies is remarkable and suggests that Alcman meant more than a pretty simile, that there is a special point in the recurring use of the comparison. If the maidens are Leucippides and called πῶλοι, the comparison is peculiarly apt. Alcman takes the idea suggested by the title and plays delightfully on it, finding in its holders the qualities of grace and speed which the ritual name suggests.

If the maidens of Alcman's chorus are the Leucippides, light is thrown on the difficult and mutilated lines towards the end of the poem 96-99

ἀ δὲ τῶν Σηρινίδων
ἀοιδότερα <μὲν> [οὐχ],
σιαὶ γὰρ, ἀντὶ δ' ἑνδεκα
παίδων δεκ[ᾶς οἶ] ἀεί]δει²

'She (Hagesichora) may not be more songful than the Sirens, for they are divine,

¹ Hesychius *θωστήρια* · *εὐωχητήρια*.

² Or, with Lavagnini, οἱ ἐρίσ]δει.

but how our ten sings against the eleven maidens.' Just as the racing Dionysiades of Pausanias are eleven in number, so the opponents of Hagesichora are eleven. In each case there is some sort of contest, and in each one side seems to be the *Λευκιππίδες*. Our poem is primarily concerned with a contest in song, but it is possible that the singing and presentation of the plough were followed by a race. At least such an assumption gives point to 57-59

ἡ δὲ δευτέρα πεδ' Ἀγιδὼν τὸ [F]εῖδος
ἵππος Εἰβηγῶ Κολαξαῖος δραμεῖται.

Hagesichora may be second in beauty to Agido, though even that admission is playful, but when it comes to racing, she is as good as a Scythian courser running by a Lydian. Ordinarily the passage is taken metaphorically and as such makes quite good sense. But the future *δραμεῖται* is more suited to the prospect of a real event than to a general comparison, and perhaps the *δρόμος* is referred to as a forthcoming incident.

But whatever the issue of the contest, the contestants' beauty and clothing have to be considered. If the ceremony is in honour of Dionysus, there is a particular point in the description at 66 ff. of what the maidens wear

οὕτε ποικίλος δράκων
παγχρύσιος οὐδὲ μίτρα
Λυδία, νεανίδων
ἐανογλεφάρων ἄγαλμα. . . .

The *ποικίλος δράκων* is a bracelet shaped like a snake. That is plain from Lucian's *τοὺς περὶ καρποῖς καὶ βραχίονσι δράκοντας* (*Amor.* 41) and Hesychius' *ὄφεις· τὰ δρακοντώδη γινόμενα ψέλλια*. There is a point in snake-ornaments being worn by the attendants of Dionysus, as snakes were commonly associated with Bacchants. Euripides makes his Bacchantes have snakes which lick their cheeks (*Bacch.* 698) and Nonnus, an expert in Bacchic symbolism, makes Dionysus himself have snakes in his hair (*Dionysiaca* 14, 233) and his Bassarids have them round their necks (14, 356) and on their heads (44, 110). So too the *Λυδία μίτρα* is closely connected with Dionysus who was thought to have come from Lydia (*Eur. Bacch.* 13, 55, etc.) and makes Pentheus wear a *μίτρα* as a token of his devotion to him (*Bacch.* 833, 929, 1115). The god himself is called *θηλυμίτρης* by Lucian (*Dion.* 3) and *χρυσομίτρης* by Sophocles (*O.T.* 209).

The festival then is in honour of Dionysus. That such festivals existed at Sparta we know from the literary sources already quoted, from a fragment of Alcman himself (fr. 37 Diehl), where he describes the *πολύφανος ἑορτά* on the mountains, and from another fragment (fr. 38 Diehl) quoted by the Scholiast on γ 171 and referred expressly to Dionysus. We might add the mention of Semele in the Strassburg papyrus of Tyrtaeus. But here not only Dionysus is honoured. More than one god is mentioned in 82-83

ἀλλὰ τῶν εὐχάς, σιοί,
δέξασθε

and whoever the mysterious *ταὶ Ἀώτι* of 87 is, she cannot be Dionysus. Dionysus must be associated with some goddess, but with whom, it is not easy to say. His natural companion is Semele, and Pausanias (III 19, 3) knew of a cult of the two at Amyclae, but there is no evidence that Semele was ever connected with the Leucippides. On the other hand there seems to be a good case for Helen, whom Aristophanes (*Lys.* 1314-1315) makes the leader of his Maenadic *κόραι* and whom Euripides definitely connects with the Leucippides (*Helen* 1465 ff.). If the festival is

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¹ Κά
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² Cf.

held in joint honour of her and Dionysus, the difficulties begin to disappear. But first we must consider the difficulties involved in such an association.

There is no direct evidence for the combined cult of Helen and Dionysus in Laconia. But what was a popular cult in Alcman's day may easily have disappeared by the time when most of our evidence for Laconian religion begins, and it is possible that such a cult would be repressed and discouraged by the strict rules of the sixth century. Nor need it disturb us if the heroine of the *Iliad* is coupled with a god to whom Homer paid little notice. The Helen of Spartan worship differed in many ways from Homer's, and especially she was ἀγνά, which Homer never calls her. At Sparta she was a not unimportant figure. She had her feast of the Ἑλένεια and Hesychius records that maidens were driven to it in waggons called κάρναθρα.¹ But her connection with Dionysus must be deduced from two important facts. In the first place both of them had assumed some functions of vegetation-deities. Theocritus knew that Helen had some attributes of a tree-goddess when he wrote

γράμματα δ' ἐν φλοιῷ γεγράφεται, ὡς παρίων τις
ἀνείμῃ Δωριστί· σέβεν μ'. Ἑλένας φυτὸν εἰμί.

(XVIII 47-48.)²

and his account of her is confirmed by the worship of her as Δενδρίτις in the Dorian island of Rhodes.³ Dionysus was also connected with a tree-cult. Plutarch knows of a Dionysus Δενδρίτης commonly worshipped in Greece (*Quaest. Conv.* 675 f. Διονύσῳ Δενδρίτῃ πάντες ὡς ἔπος εἰπείν 'Ἕλληνες θύουσι'), Hesychius mentions a Dionysus Ἐνδεδρός worshipped in Boeotia, and an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander records that when a tree was split by the wind an image of Dionysus was found inside it.⁴ Therefore there is nothing improbable in the association of the tree-god Dionysus with the tree-goddess Helen.

Secondly in early art Dionysus is often coupled with a goddess, to whom no fixed name is given. Gerhard collected a series of vase-paintings on which Dionysus is figured with a nameless goddess holding a flower,⁵ and a late sixth-century patera from Marathon shows him with a cornucopia seated opposite a goddess who holds a flower in her left hand. As Dr. Farnell says, 'the style is solemn and hieratic and suggests a cult-association of the god with the goddess of vegetation.'⁶ Sometimes the companion is called Semele, sometimes Kore, often she is nameless. But in each case the function is the same. Dionysus has a goddess with him, and both he and she are connected with vegetation.

The conclusion then is that Dionysus and Helen were united as a divine pair concerned with vegetation, and that in Sparta their association was made closer by their attachment to trees and agriculture. There remains the difficulty of 87-88

ἐγὼν δὲ ταῖ μὲν Ἀώτι μαλίστα
ἀνδάνην ἐρῶ.

Who is this Aotis, whom the Chorus is most anxious to please? The form Ἀώτι suggests that the word is an adjective and means either 'she who comes from the East' or 'she of the Dawn.' As Helen has no known oriental antecedents, the first suggestion does not help, but some slight pieces of evidence help to make sense of the second. First, in his Epithalamium for Helen Theocritus makes his maidens praise her with the words

ὥς ἀντέλλουσα καλὸν διέφανε πρόσωπον,
πότνια νύξ, ἄτε λευκὸν ἔαρ χειμῶνος ἀνέντος·
ὦδε καὶ ἡ χρυσέα Ἑλένα διαφαίνεται ἐν ἁμίν.

(XVIII 26-28.)

¹ Κάρναθρα ἀστράβη ἡ ἄμαξα, πλέγματα ἔχουσα,
ὅφ' ὧν πομπεύουσιν αἱ παρθένοι, ὅταν εἰς τὸ τῆς
'Ἑλένης ἀπίωσιν.

² Cf. Kaibel in *Hermes* XXVI, p. 255 ff.

³ Paus. III 19, 10.

⁴ *Mitteil. d. ath. Inst.* XV 330 ff.

⁵ A.V. X-XVI.

⁶ *Cults of the Greek States*, V, p. 245.

The lines are difficult and have naturally been emended, but they make good sense if we translate them, 'fair is the face which the rising dawn shows, o lady night, like a white spring when winter is over. Even so does golden Helen shine among us.' Helen is compared to the Dawn, which is itself compared to the spring. There would be a particular point in the first comparison, if Helen were herself a dawn-goddess, and such the words seem to imply, as the mention of the Dawn is not introduced by *ὥς* and stands in its own right as a statement of fact. For those who knew of Helen's connection with the Dawn the simple statement as made here would be perfectly intelligible. A second piece of evidence may perhaps be found in Hesychius, though it is hard to make much of it. He has an entry *Ἄωοι θεοὶ οἱ ἐκ δρόμου μετακομισθέντες εἰς Σαμοθράκην <καὶ> Λήμνον*. As it stands the statement does not mean much, but the curious *ἐκ δρόμου* looks interesting in view of the race run by the Leucippides, and it is possible that the words *θεοὶ οἱ ἐκ δρόμου* should be detached from the rest and treated as a separate element in a false amalgamation of two different statements. Castor and Polydeuces had their statues on the *δρόμος* at Sparta, and Helen herself seems to have had her shrine near it, even if she did not share one with Menelaus immediately outside it. The title *Ἄωοι* then may have been given to these gods near the *δρόμος* and concerned with it, though why it was given there is no means of saying.

Neither however of these hints constitutes cogent evidence. But there is another good reason for Helen being honoured as a goddess of the dawn. She was honoured pre-eminently by maidens, and the ordinary time for such votaresses to pay especial honour to their patroness was before the dawn. An Attic inscription (*C.I.A.* II 163) illustrates the point exactly. It says: *τοὺς δὲ ἱεροποιοὺς τοὺς διοικοῦντας τὰ Παναθήναια τὰ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ποιεῖν τὴν παννυχίδα ὥς καλλίστην τῇ θεῷ καὶ τὴν πομπὴν πέμπειν ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνιόντι*. The occasion of Alcman's poem is like this. The maidens sing it before dawn while the night is still on, but the appearance of the dawn means the appearance of the goddess whom they honour especially. That they are singing by night is clear from 39-43

ἐγὼν δ' αἶδω
'Αγιδῶς τὸ φῶς. ὁρῶ
F' ὥτ' ἄλιον, ὄνπερ ἄμιν
'Αγιδὼ μαρτύρεται
φαίνην.

The meaning of this is, 'I sing of the light of Agido. I see her like the sun of whose shining Agido is our witness'—in other words, Agido's beauty is so radiant that even at night she is evidence that the sun shines. If the song were sung by day, the compliment would be almost intolerable. The occasion then is a *παννυχίς*, a feast held at night and lasting till the dawn, when it reaches its climax. That such feasts were held in honour of Dionysus we know from Eur. *Bacchae* 862 *ἄρ' ἐν παννυχίοις χοροῖς* and Soph. *Ant.* 152 ff. *θεῶν δὲ ναοὺς χοροῖς παννυχίοις πάντας ἐπέλθωμεν, ὁ Θήβας δ' ἐλελίζων Βάκχιος ἄρχοι*.

If such is the general character of the occasion, we ought to be able to determine the meaning of the mysterious lines 60-63. It must be plain that *ἄμιν μάχονται* cannot mean 'fight for us' and can only mean 'fight against us.' This affords support to the view that *ταὶ Πελειάδες* are not the constellation but a rival choir, as it is hard to see in what sense the Pleiads of the heaven would fight against Hagesichora and the other maidens. Another objection to taking *ταὶ Πελειάδες* of the constellation is the comparison with Sirius. The complete constellation of the Pleiads would not be compared appropriately with a single star, and the comparison is particularly inappropriate because the stars of the Pleiads are *ὀλίγαι καὶ ἀφέγγεες*, as Aratus (*Ph.* 264) says, while Sirius is the brightest star in the sky. If then *ταὶ Πελειάδες* are

not the constellation, they must be the rival choir, and this makes good sense. We have just heard what a combination Agido and Hagesichora are, and then the choir goes on to explain that it needs such a combination because of the rivals, the Pleiads or Doves. But who are *ταὶ Πελειάδες* and what are they doing here?

First, let it be noted that the word means equally Pleiads and Doves, and that there is no need to distinguish between the two meanings. The seven daughters of Atlas, whom Zeus turned into doves to save them from Orion, were still thought of as doves in the sky, and the double meaning of the word is accepted, for instance, by Lamprocles (fr. 2 Diehl) in his *αἶ τε ποταναῖς ὁμώμνοι πελειάσιν αἰθέρι κείσθε*. If a chorus called itself *ταὶ Πελειάδες*, it would be indifferent whether it was thought of as stars or as doves. Nor is it difficult to see why a Spartan chorus should so call itself. One at least of the Pleiads, Taygeta, was a Spartan, and such a local association would justify a choir in calling itself the Pleiads. But they had probably another and better reason. The rising of the Pleiads was an important date in the Greek calendar because it marked the season, as Hesiod *Op.* 383 ff. points out, for harvest. The spring festival of Dionysus would fall naturally at such a time, and a choir taking part in such a festival would suitably take its name from the constellation which fixed the occasion. The members of the choir were presumably dressed as birds, and some sort of parallel can be found in the oenochoe in the British Museum which shows two dancers disguised as birds, and the Berlin amphora which shows two others with crests and wattles like cocks.¹ Pollux (IV 101) and Hesychius both know of a dance called *γέρανος*, and it is possible that it owed its origin to some religious rite. But we need not trouble to look for parallels. The Scholiast on Theocritus 13, 25 says *αἱ Πελειάδες, φησὶ Καλλίμαχος, τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ἀμαζόνων ἦσαν θυγατέρες πρῶτον δ' αὖται χορείαν καὶ παννυχίδα συνεστήσαντο παρθενεύουσαι*. He is plainly recording an aetiological myth which explained a choir of maidens who danced all night and were called *Πελειάδες* by reference to an Amazonian ancestry. Whatever the origin of their name, its mere existence shows that Alcman's Pleiads might have been a choir.

The Pleiads are seven in number, but this choir, to judge by *ἀντὶ δ' ἑνδεκα* of 98, are eleven. The solution of this difficulty has been found by Kukula.² The seven Pleiads are accompanied by the five Hyads and the total of twelve is that of the leader and eleven singers. If, as we have seen, they are singing just before the dawn, the papyrus reading of *ὀρθρίαι* is right. The Pleiads rise in early May and are visible for a few minutes before the sun rises. So too the chorus sings before sunrise, and in view of the occasion it is reasonably called *ὀρθρίαι*. Its members are thought of as rising out of the darkness as the constellation rises, and therefore Alcman uses the word *ἀειρομέναι*. The comparison with *Σείριον ἄστρον* is simply in respect of their brightness, due probably to their rich clothing and ornaments, with which Alcman's choir proclaims that it cannot compete. That such is the correct explanation follows from Ibycus' hyperbolical comparison *φλεγέθων ᾗ περ διὰ νύκτα μακρὰν σείρια παμφανόωντα* (fr. 12 Diehl). Even if he had not Alcman's words in mind, at least Ibycus felt that one shining thing could be compared in brightness to a number of stars. The whole passage then makes coherent sense and can be translated: 'the Pleiads of the dawn rise through the ambrosial night like the star of Sirius and fight against us as we bear the plough.'

It is certainly tempting to identify the choir of Pleiads with the competing *Διονυσιαῖδες* mentioned by Pausanias, and though such an identification cannot be proved, there is evidence for both the Hyads and the Pleiads being connected with Dionysus. Therefore a choir singing in his honour would naturally call themselves *Πελειάδες*. Nonnus, as usual, provides some information. According to him the

¹ Cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, pp. 245-6.

² *Philologus* LXVI, p. 15.

Hyads were originally Naiads and the daughters of Lamus (*Dionysiaca* IX 28, XIV 146, XLVIII 678), who nursed Dionysus as a child and helped Hermes to give him into the care of Ino. In another tradition the Hyads were the daughters of Erechtheus, and Philochorus (fr. 31) says that joint offerings were offered to them and Dionysus, while Carl Robert claimed to recognize on an Attic vase the Hyads watching the birth of Dionysus.¹ So too with the Pleiads. Nonnus gives them an important part to play before the god's birth, and the whole constellation fights for Dionysus when he goes to India (XIII 413 ff.). Of course there is much invention in Nonnus, but his association of both Hyads and Pleiads with Dionysus makes it more likely that they were originally associated in ritual and myth. In any case the title of *Πελειάδες* is quite suitable for a choir performing in Dionysus' honour, as Sophocles calls Dionysus *πῦρ πνειόντων χοράγ' ἀστρων* (*Ant.* 1147) and the Chorus of Mystics in Aristophanes' *Frogs* 342 address him as *νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ*.

The occasion then is a *παννυχίς* held in honour of Dionysus and Helen, and followed at the dawn by the offering of a plough and possibly by a *δρόμος*. It remains to explain why the imagery of horses should be attached to the devotees of Dionysus and Helen and why the *Λευκιπίδες* should have anything to do with them. Here we are on the slippery ground of early Greek religion and certainty is of course impossible, but one or two considerations can be indicated. We are concerned with a period when local and traditional cults were being changed in the direction of uniformity with cults elsewhere, and the arrival of the new god Dionysus had caused alterations in the religious life of Sparta by the attachment to him of rites which previously belonged to others. In particular he appropriated some of the details belonging to the ancient horse-cults of the Peloponnese. The existence of such in ancient times may be seen both in archaeological remains and in the survival of rites in other parts of the Peloponnese than Sparta. The shrine of Artemis Orthia at Sparta has yielded an ivory object of the seventh century which shows a head, whose sex is uncertain, between two horses, and a variety of metal plaques of a slightly later date show a goddess between two horses. In this case the goddess must be Artemis, who has taken on some of the attributes of a horse. The fine collection of small bronze horses from Olympia, now in the Berlin museum, may possibly belong to a similar cult. The literary tradition is more plentiful. Pausanias 3. 20. 9 mentions a place near Sparta called *Ἴππου μνήμα* and records the legend that here Tyndareus stood over the severed limbs of a horse, and when the suitors of Helen had taken their famous oath, he buried the horse's remains. This certainly looks, as Dr. Farnell suggests,² like a later misunderstanding of an ancient rite, the burying of a horse to secure fertility. Of more importance is the connection of Demeter with horses. The famous horse-headed Demeter of Phigaleia (Paus. VIII 42) was not unique in Greece. The marble peplos of Demeter, found at Lycosura, shows human figures with horses' heads and a Phigaleian coin shows a horse's head as an ornament at the end of Demeter's necklace.³ At Andania was a cult of Demeter *ἐφ' ἵπποδρομίᾳ*.⁴ The natural explanation of this is that Demeter, the earth-goddess, was credited with the attributes of the horse, because the horse, like the bull, is a symbol of fertility. As ploughing in Greece is not done with horses, it is wrong to see in its ritual use merely a symbol of agriculture, such as we find in the October horse at Rome, but fertility is not necessarily agricultural and the explanation seems adequate. Indeed it seems to be confirmed by a curious story preserved by Apollodorus *Bib.* III 5, 1. He says that when Lycurgus, king of the Edonians, quarrelled with Dionysus, the land remained barren and 'the god declared from his oracle that it would bear fruit if Lycurgus were put to death. On hearing this the Edonians led him to Mount

¹ *Philol. Unters.* X, p. 186.

² *Cults of the Greek States* III, p. 61.

³ *Ib.* p. 57.

⁴ Dittenberger *S.I.G.* p. 570.

Pangaeum and bound him, and there according to the will of Dionysus he died ἵπῳ διαφθαρεῖς.' Here the fertility of the land is secured by the σπαραγμός of its king, but the part played by horses cannot be fortuitous and indicates that they were connected with the revival of fertility. Now Dionysus, as we have seen, was certainly an agricultural deity, and as such he took over the horse-attributes of his predecessors, and in particular of Demeter. The decay of her cult in Sparta was noticed by Herodotus, who attributed it to the Dorian invasion (II 171 μετὰ δὲ ἐξαναστάσης πάσης Πελοποννήσου ὑπὸ Δωριέων ἐξαπώλετο ἡ τελετή, οἱ δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες Πελοποννησίων καὶ οὐκ ἐξαναστάντες Ἀρκάδες δίοσφρον αὐτὴν μόνον). With the general truth of this there is no need to quarrel, and it explains why, when the new god Dionysus arrived, it was easy to attach to him what survived of Demeter's agricultural and fertility rites.

The attachment of these rites to Helen is ultimately similar in origin, because she too was a tree-goddess. But in her case it is difficult to dissociate her connection with horses from her connection with the Dioscuri. They of course are commonly associated with horses. In *Homeric Hymn* XVII 5 and XXXIII 18 they are ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων, and on a metope of the Sicyonian Treasury at Delphi one of them rides his horse on the prow of the Argo. Nor were they the only pair of divine twins associated with horses. Ibycus (fr. 2 Diehl) calls the Moliones λευκίππους κόρους and at the close of his *Antiope* Euripides makes Hermes prophesy of Zethus and Amphion

λευκῷ δὲ πῶλῳ τῷ Διὸς κεκλημένοι
τιμὰς μεγίστας ἔξετ' ἐν Κάδμου πόλει.

Even if divine twins as such were not always associated with horses, and the evidence is not conclusive that they were, it is still clear that the Dioscuri were so associated and probable that they communicated their association to similar pairs like the Moliones or Zethus and Amphion. So when Euripides calls his pair λευκῷ πῶλῳ, he speaks as a good antiquarian who realizes that those who are connected with horses were once worshipped as them. Helen's close connection with the Dioscuri would then explain her connection with horses and the attachment to her of the *Λευκιππίδες*.

Helen moreover, like Dionysus, seems to have taken over some attributes belonging to other earth-goddesses. At least it is noteworthy that Kore seems to have had a cult-title of λευκίππος, and it is hard to dissociate this from the *Λευκιππίδες*. In *Ol.* VI 95 Pindar in a poem written for performance at Stymphalus in Arcadia says of his victor

φοινικόπεζαν
ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππον τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν.

While it is possible that here φοινικόπεζαν is a conventional decorative epithet, λευκίππον is too peculiar to be anything but a cult-title. And so the scholiast took it in his explanation ἐπειδὴ λέγεται μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν, ἣν ὑπέστη ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλούτωνος, εὐρεθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς λευκοπῶλῳ ἄρματι ἀνήχθαι εἰς τὸν Ὀλύμπου πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὸν Δία. It is remarkable too that the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 418 begins its list of Persephone's companions with the name of Λευκίππη, although the list of Oceanids in *Hesiod Theog.* 349 ff. omits the name from a company otherwise identical. It looks as if the author of the Hymn felt a special duty to add a name closely connected with Persephone. There is then no need to postulate a Leucippus as the father of the Leucippides or to assume that the priestesses of the name were anything else than the priestesses of a goddess in many ways identifiable with Kore, whose title was λευκίππος. When the cult of Demeter and Kore was stopped in Sparta, Helen, herself a goddess of vegetation, took over the priestesses, and when she took them over, they were naturally attached also to her companion, Dionysus.

The Partheneion is in the main a hymn sung for such a spring festival, but at two

places it seems to be something more. The choir give as their reason for desiring to please Aotis

πόνων γάρ
 ἄμιν ἰάτωρ ἔγεντο
 ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρας δὲ νεάνιδες
 [εἰρ]ήνας ἐπαῖς ἐπέβαν.

The lines have often been referred to the anxiety, *πόνοι*, which the girls feel before the competition, and to the victory, *εἰρήνα*, which they feel confident that Hagesichora will win for them. So far as the mere vocabulary is concerned this is a tenable view. Such a use of *πόνος* is not far from Pindar's use of the word to describe the efforts and strain of his athletic victors, and the use of *εἰρήνα* may be paralleled by *Nem.* I 69, but the use of the aorists *ἔγεντο* and *ἐπέβαν* is fatal against this view. The only defence of them is that they are gnomic, and a gnomic aorist cannot be used of a single, particular case in the immediate future. We must therefore take *πόνων* and *εἰρήνας* in their natural sense, and there is something to be said for the view that the thanks are due for the Spartan victory in the Second Messenian War. At least *πόνος* is commonly used by the tragedians of the pains of war, and *εἰρήνα* normally means peace. If Hagesichora is the priestess of the deities who are thought responsible for the Spartan victory, there is a real point in the words ἐξ Ἀγησιχόρας. The priestess may claim a share in the victory and the peace it has brought. Moreover, if the song is partly a hymn of thanksgiving for victory, there is a special reason for the long myth and its moral. The Sons of Hippocoon are punished by Heracles and the Dioscuri for their pride. The Dioscuri were both the patrons of Sparta, known to Tyrtæus, and the brothers of Helen. Their place is beyond criticism. And the defeat of the rebellious Messenians is well symbolized in a story whose moral is

[μή τις ἀνθ]ρώπων ἐς ὠρανὸν ποτήσθω
 [μηδὲ πει]ρήτω γαμῆν τὰν Ἀφροδίταν.

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AUSONIANA.

IN C.Q. XXVII. 178-181 Mr. S. G. Owen has raised some interesting questions, but it may be doubted whether he has in every case discovered the correct solution.

Parentalia 30, 6: quaeque sine exemplo in nece functa uiri. Mr. Owen's *pro nece* removes the hiatus, but I think has no other merit. The sense 'a death for a death,' even if not necessarily or best represented by repetition of the same term, is at least not happily represented by such combination of euphemism with dysphemism; 'in place of the slaughter of her husband, she finished her days.' Read *funere*, and you get an expression characteristic of this school; Paulinus of Pella (whose poem is readily accessible in the Loeb Ausonius) applied it to death; *patris de funere functi* 236, 'of my father's death,' i.e. *funere defuncti*, cf. 241 *defuncti patris*. But Paulinus of Nola applied it also to a vicarious death, Christus . . . morte *mea* functus, *carm.* 31, 191 (35, 189 Migne). Both were pupils of Ausonius (the grandson unofficially).

Ordo Urbium 8, 1: nec Capuam pelago cultuque penuque potentem. Mr. Owen's *positu* for *pelago* leaves *cultu* without a meaning. 'Owing her prosperity both to the cultivation and the storing' of—some sort of produce. Campania was Italy's great vine district, and the trade flourished especially in the first four centuries A.D. Read 'Capuam ampelino': Ausonius liked macaronics; and anyway, Caecilius had used the word. *Penus* included wines, *Cic. N.D.* 2, 27, 68 *est enim omne quo uescuntur homines penus*, Pomponius ap. *Non.* 219M 33 *uinum panemque, omnem ceterum alium praeberem penum*.

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By the courtesy of the editors I have been allowed to see Mr. A. Y. Campbell's observations on two emendations of Ausonius suggested by me in C.Q. XXVII. (1933) 178 ff. Meanwhile I have learned from Mr. E. Harrison, of Trinity College, Cambridge, that, in the *Cambridge Philological Society's Proceedings*, 1924, p. 27, since Alcestis is meant, cp. *Juv.* 6, 652 *spectant subeuntem fata mariti* | *Alcestim et, similis si permutatio detur, morte viri cupiant animam servare catellae*, he had already proposed to 'read *pro nece* (or *funere*) *functa viri*,' thus anticipating my *pro nece* and Mr. Campbell's *funere*. As the *Cambridge Phil. Soc. Proc.* are inaccessible to me and are not to be discovered in the Bodleian Library, I was ignorant of Mr. Harrison's proposal. I am glad that we concur.

Regarding the conjecture *pro nece*, to which Mr. Harrison gives priority, the passage he adduces from Juvenal is in its favour. But Mr. Campbell criticizes it as a dysphemism, translating 'in place of the slaughter of her husband, she finished her days.' Certainly the original meaning of *nex* is 'slaughter,' but the word later acquired the weakened sense of 'death.' Examples are given in Lewis and Short. A single instance will suffice from Ausonius, *Epigr.* 97, 1 *adspice, quam blandae necis ambitione fruatur* | *letifera experiens gaudia pulcher Hylas*. Obviously the end of Hylas was not a 'pleasant slaughter,' but a 'death' that was 'pleasant' because he was drawn down into the water by an enamoured nymph, and because ὕλαν φιλότῳτι θεῷ ποιήσατο νόμῳ (Ap. Rhod. 1, 1324). Also *functa* signifies, not she 'finished her days,' but merely 'died.' On account of the expression *fungi morte* (Ov. *Met.* 11, 583), 'to accomplish one's death,' i.e. 'to die,' later writers, especially Ausonius,

often use the participle *functus* to signify 'dead,' as *Parent.* 2, 8 *functa fove tumulum*, sometimes, as here, the finite verb, as *Prof.* 14, 3 *aevo qui quoniam genitus functusque* (sc. *es*), *recenti dilatus nobis, non et omissus eras*. If we translate 'she that perished in place of her husband's death' I see nothing to quarrel with. The other conjecture *funere* is less suitable because the change involved is more violent, and because *funere functa* is ambiguous; it might be taken to mean 'she carried out her husband's funeral obsequies.'

Mr. Campbell's conjecture on *Ordo Urbium* 8, 1 *nec Capuam ampelino* is certainly ingenious. But, besides the fact that *Capuam ampelino* is a rather harsh cacophony, it seems to give too much prominence to vine-culture in connexion with Capua. Capua was noted for the produce of the Campanian plain—corn, vegetables, oil and unguents prepared with oil—not particularly for wine, which was manufactured in the vineyards of the adjacent hills and the coast district. I understand *positu cultuque penique* to mean that Capua was important on account of its position and corn crops and stores generally—vegetables, oil, etc. In Cicero II, *Verr.* 4, 114 *omnis cultus fructusque Cerevis* means 'all the crops and produce of corn.' Cp. Virg. *G.* 1, 102 *nullo tantum se Mysia cultu | iactat et ipsa suas miratur Gargara messis*.

S. G. OWEN.

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NOTES ON THE ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ ΑΠΟΡΙΑΙ OF PLOTINUS
(*ENNEAD* IV. III-IV).

IV. iii. 1. l. 10 Bréhier (Volkman vol. II. p. 9. l. 12).

(Reasons for studying psychology.) ζητεῖν τε τὰ ἄλλα καὶ εὐρεῖν βουλόμενοι δικαίως ἂν τὸ ζητοῦν τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο ζητοῦμεν† τό τε ἐραστὸν ποθοῦντες λαβεῖν θαμάτων†. ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τῷ παντὶ νῷ τὸ διττόν· ὥστε εὐλόγως ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος τὸ μὲν οὕτως μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ οὕτως.

The clause obelized above has been much solicited by critics, but to little purpose. Failing (apparently) to realize that ποθοῦντες is parallel to βουλόμενοι, Vitringa proposed θεώμεθ' ἂν for θαμάτων, Müller omitted τε, and Volkman altered ποθοῦντες to ποθοῦν. The first of these conjectures is as unacceptable in sense as it is palaeographically improbable. The others leave untouched the real difficulties, viz. (i) the odd partitive genitive θαμάτων (which ought at least to have the article); (ii) the obscure connection of thought between this sentence and the next. Gollwitzer saw that the last syllable of θαμάτων represents the remains of a dependent genitive; he proposed to read θέαμα τῶν <ἄνω>, and accounted for the obscurity by positing a lacuna. I believe that nothing is lost, and that the true reading is τό τε ἐραστὸν ποθοῦντες λαβεῖν θέαμα τοῦ νοῦ. Written θέαμα τῶν it would very easily be read as θαμάτων. And the connection of thought now becomes clearer. Study of the cognitive subject is desirable not only in other kinds of cognition but even in the contemplation of νοῦς (by the soul which has become νοῦς, and might therefore be thought to be completely merged in its object). For even in universal νοῦς there is a duality of subject and object; and the same will be true of the soul in contemplation.

IV. iii. 6. l. 21 Br. (Volk. II. 16. 13).

(The higher grades of soul have more creative power.) σώζονται γὰρ αὐτὰς ἐπ' ἀσφαλοῦς ἐκ τοῦ ῥύστου ποιοῦσι—δυνάμεις γὰρ μείζονος μὴ πάσχειν ἐν οἷς ποιεῖ—ἡ δὲ δύναμις ἐκ τοῦ ἄνω μένει. μένονσα οὖν ἐν αὐτῇ ποιεῖ προσιόντων, αἱ δὲ αὐταὶ προῆλθον (Bréhier: προσήλθον codd.).

ἡ δύναμις ἐκ τοῦ ἄνω μένει is taken by Müller and M. Bréhier to mean 'the power from on high abides,' which sounds very well. But (i) the Greek for 'the power from on high' is ἡ δύναμις ἡ ἄνωθεν, or possibly ἡ δύναμις ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἄνω: (ii) what is meant by saying that this power 'abides'? According to Plotinus it is the higher soul itself, not its δύναμις, which abides (i.e. does not descend into Matter). Read μένειν: 'their power arises from abiding on high.' In the next sentence the subject of ποιεῖ is the world-soul.

IV. iii. 10. l. 30 Br. (Volk. II. 22. 32).

(The ἐνέργειαι of soul contrasted with those of 'inanimate' matter). πυρὸς μὲν γὰρ θερμὰ ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸ ψύχειν ἄλλον· ψυχῆς δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς ἄλλο, τὸ δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀψύχοις τὸ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν οἷον εὔδει κείμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς, τὸ δὲ εἰς ἄλλο ὁμοιωσάι πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ παθεῖν δυνάμενον· καὶ κοινὸν δὴ τοῦτο παντὶ τῷ ὄντι, εἰς ὁμοίωσιν ἑαυτῷ ἄγειν. ψυχῆς δὲ ἔργον καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐγρηγορός τι καὶ τὸ εἰς ἄλλο ὡσαύτως.

The general drift of this passage (which I have repunctuated) is quite clear. ψυχῇ has two activities, an extrinsic (ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς ἄλλο l. 31 Br., εἰς ἄλλο l. 36) and an

intrinsic (ἐν αὐτῇ II. 32 and 35-6). The extrinsic activity is found also in ἄψυχα (εἰς ἄλλο I. 33), as a tendency to produce specific modifications (e.g. of temperature) in their environment; but the intrinsic activity is 'asleep' (I. 33) in ἄψυχα, whereas it is 'awake' (I. 36) in ψυχή. As read, however, in the MSS. and editions, the sentence about the ἄψυχα contrasts τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν and τὸ εἰς ἄλλο as if they were two different activities. It seems certain that ἐξ αὐτῶν is not in place. After the copyist had written τὸ μὲν in I. 32 his eye was presumably caught by τὸ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς in the previous line, and he repeated ἐξ αὐτῆς—which a subsequent copyist would inevitably alter to ἐξ αὐτῶν.

IV. iii. 16. I. 8 Br. (Volk. II. 28. 21).

(Examples of accidents which may happen to men irrespective of their deserts.) οἷον πιπτούσης τινὸς οἰκοδομίας τὸν ὑποπεσόντα ἀποθανεῖν ὁποῖός ποτ' ἂν ᾦ, ἢ καὶ τινων δύο κατὰ τάξιν φερομένων ἢ καὶ ἐνὸς τὸ ἐμπεσὼν τρωθῆναι ἢ πατηθῆναι.

Every reader must have been struck by the extraordinary vagueness and ineptitude of the second illustration. 'Si deux choses s'avancent (ou même une seule) d'un mouvement régulier, elles brisent ou écrasent ce qu'elles rencontrent': so M. Bréhier, and so also Müller and Mr. MacKenna. 'Deux choses' should be 'deux personnes': πατεῖν and its compounds are never, so far as I know, used of inanimate agents. But whether persons or things, why should these unspecified moving objects inflict injury rather than receive it? and why such emphasis on their number? Müller suggested his usual remedy: 'δύο et ἢ καὶ ἐνὸς fortasse del.' But as a comment on τινων κατὰ τάξιν φερομένων the words seem too fatuous even for a mediaeval scribe. I am pretty sure that κατὰ τάξιν φερομένων is used in the military sense, and I suspect that τινων conceals a military collective noun (the only sort of noun with which δύο would have any point here). Plotinus may have written ἢ καὶ ἑλὼν δύο: 'when two squadrons of horse are charging (each other) in line, what falls in their way is wounded or trampled under foot.' Conceivably he added ἢ καὶ ἐνὸς as an after-thought; but I should rather attribute these words to a reader who had watched troops of horse galloping through the narrow streets of a mediaeval town. Later ΙΩΝΝ may have been read as ΝΩΝ, and so corrupted to τινων. The word is common in Hellenistic Greek as an equivalent of either *turma* or *ala*.

IV. iii. 26. I. 24 Br. (Volk. II. 40. 23).

(Does memory belong to the soul or the body?) τί οὖν, εἰ αὐτὴ μὲν (sc. ἡ ψυχή) μνημονεύει, τῷ δὲ ἐν σώματι εἶναι τῷ μὴ καθαρὰ εἶναι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ποιωθεῖσα, ἀναμάττεσθαι δύναται τοῖς τῶν αἰσθητῶν τύπους κτλ.

Vitringa's insertion of μὴ before μνημονεύει is rightly rejected by M. Bréhier: this theory asserts not that memory is corporeal, but that it has a corporeal basis. But as the sentence stands ἀναμάττεσθαι δύναται κτλ. is not a satisfactory antithesis to αὐτὴ μνημονεύει, and the two unlinked causal datives are very awkward. Read τί οὖν, εἰ αὐτὴ μὲν μνημονεύει, τῷ δὲ ἐν σώματι εἶναι (sc. μνημονεύει). <καὶ> τῷ μὴ καθαρὰ εἶναι κτλ. After εἶναι, καὶ would readily fall out.

IV. iii. 27 *init.* (Volk. II. 41. 27).

(Memory belongs to the soul, not to the body.) ἀλλὰ τίνας ψυχῆς (sc. ἐστὶν ἡ μνήμη), τῆς μὲν λεγομένης ὑφ' ἡμῶν θειοτέρας, καθ' ἣν ἡμεῖς, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ὅλου;

Plotinus here distinguishes the empirical individual from the higher self which is the indwelling presence of the world-soul. But I do not know what is meant by the assertion that we call the former 'more divine.' To call the individual soul more divine than the world-soul would be blasphemy to any Greek thinker. To call it more divine than the organic consciousness or ζῶον would be possible in another

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context; but it is clear from the sequel that it is here (as often) conceived as including the ζῶν. I suggest that Plotinus wrote not *θειοτέρας* but *οἰκειοτέρας*. Cf. IV. viii. 3. l. 23 Br. (Volk. II, 146. 29) *προσλαβοῦσα γὰρ* (sc. ἡ ψυχὴ) *τῷ νοερῷ εἶναι καὶ ἄλλο, καθ' ὃ τὴν οἰκείαν ἔσχεν ὑπόστασιν, νοῦς οὐκ ἔμεινεν*.

Ibid. l. 7 Br. (Volk. II. 42. 1).

(Evidence from the Homeric *Nekyia* about the survival of memory after death.)
τὸ γοῦν εἰδῶλον ἐν ζῶνι Ἡρακλέους· τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ εἰδῶλον, οἶμαι, χρὴ νομίζειν ἡμᾶς μνημονεύειν τῶν πεπραγμένων πάντων κατὰ τὸν βίον, αὐτοῦ γὰρ μάλιστα καὶ ὁ βίος ἦν. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι τὸ συναμφοτέρον οὔσαι οὐδὲν πλέον ὅμως εἶχον λέγειν ἢ ἃ τετ' τοῦ βίου τούτου καὶ αἰται (αὐταί C) τὸ συναμφοτέρον γενόμεναι ταῦτα ἤδεσαν· ἢ εἴ τι δικαιοσύνης ἔχόμενον. ὁ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς αὐτὸς ὁ ἄνευ τοῦ εἰδῶλου τί ἔλεγεν, οὐκ εἴρηται. τί οὖν ἂν εἴποι ἢ ἑτέρα ψυχὴ ἀπαλλαγείσα μόνῃ; ἢ γὰρ ἐφελκομένη ὅτι καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἔπραξεν ἢ ἔπαθεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος· χρόνον δὲ προϋόντος ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ἄλλων μνήμαι ἂν φανείν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν βίων.

There are several difficulties here. (i) καὶ in l. 1 is meaningless. Kirchhoff thought something was lost after ἡμᾶς. Müller deleted the whole phrase *τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τὸ εἰδῶλον*. Volkmann, more cautiously, deleted καί. But what is it that Plotinus 'thinks we must suppose' (οἶμαι, χρὴ νομίζειν ἡμᾶς)? According to Volkmann (who puts a colon after ἡμᾶς) the supposition to be made is that the infernal Heracles is the εἰδῶλον of Heracles (as Homer says, *Od.* xi. 602). According to Müller and M. Bréhier, it is that the infernal Heracles remembers his outward life on earth. Neither view is quite satisfactory: would Plotinus say 'I think we must suppose' something for which we have the explicit evidence of Homer? Read *καθ' ὃ* for καὶ τό: Plotinus thinks we must suppose that if a departed spirit remembers its outward earth-life, it does so *qua* εἰδῶλον, and he gives his reason—'for the earthly life belonged mainly to the εἰδῶλον.'

(ii) Something is wrong with the syntax of the sentence beginning αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι. Kirchhoff altered ἃ τε (l. 3) to τά, put a colon after τούτου (l. 4), and continued καὶ <γὰρ> αἰται. Müller, *more suo*, deleted the entire sentence down to ἔχόμενον (l. 5). But I think only one change is needed. Read αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι . . . εἶχον λέγειν. ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τούτου καὶ αἰται τὸ συναμφοτέρον γενόμεναι ταῦτα ἤδεσαν, ἢ εἴ τι δικαιοσύνης ἔχόμενον. This gives γενόμεναι its proper meaning (contrast οὔσαι l. 3). The first sentence states an ἀπορία: the other souls in Homer, which were *not* mere εἰδῶλα but συναμφοτέρα (higher plus lower soul), had nothing deeper to say than the εἰδῶλον had. The second sentence offers a tentative λύσις: having lived the life of the συναμφοτέρον on earth, these souls too retained the outward memories appropriate to the lower element in the compound; in addition, they perhaps *had* ideas of justice (which the εἰδῶλον has not). This latter suggestion (which Plotinus puts forward doubtfully) is based, I think, on *Od.* xi. 570, οἱ δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ δίκας εἶροντο ἀνακτα—a passage in which Platonizing commentators may have seen an admission that the ethical life of the soul persists in Hades.

(iii) ὅτι in line 6 cannot be construed. Read ἔτι: 'the soul which is still dragged earthward.' This provides the right antithesis to χρόνον προϋόντος in the next sentence. Cf. I. i. 12 *fin.*, where Plotinus says of Heracles ἄνω τέ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔτι ἐστὶ τι αὐτοῦ καὶ κάτω.

IV. iv. 3. l. 9 Br. (Volk. II. 50. 1).

(The soul identifies itself with what it contemplates.) ὅτι γὰρ ἔχει πάντα δυνάμει καὶ οὐχ οὕτω τελείως, πάντα γίνεται, καὶ μεθόριον οὐσα καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ κειμένη ἐπ' ἑαυτῷ φέρεται.

Kirchhoff omitted the καὶ before οὐχ οὕτω τελείως, and took these words with πάντα γίνεται. In this he has been blindly followed by subsequent editors. But the

resultant sense is unsatisfactory. 'Soul does not become all things so perfectly'—as what? As νοῦς, I suppose. But there is no becoming in νοῦς. For the Neoplatonist, νοῦς contains all things as part of its essence (πρώτως), and *is* and knows all things in a single intuition; the soul contains all things by derivation (δευτέρως), and *becomes* all things successively (cf. V. i. 4). The manuscript reading is sound: 'because the soul possesses all things by derivation, and less perfectly (than νοῦς), soul becomes all things.' Cf. *supra*, l. 6 Br., οὐ μνημονεύει ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐκείνῳ ἔστι καὶ γίνεται, where Plot. adds γίνεται to correct the inexactitude of ἔστι.

IV. iv. 13. l. 13 Br. (Volk. II. 60. 6).

(Distinction of φύσις, φαντασία, νόσις.) ἡ μὲν γὰρ (sc. φύσις) οὐδενὸς ἀντίληψιν οὐδὲ σύνεσιν ἔχει· ἡ δὲ φαντασία σύνεσιν ἐπακτοῦ, δίδωσι γὰρ τῷ φαντασθέντι εἰδέναι ἃ ἔπαθεν· ἡ δὲ (sc. νόσις) γεννᾷ αὐτὴν (Kirchhoff: γέννα αὐτὴ codd.) καὶ ἐνέργειαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐνεργήσαντος.

For ἐνέργεια, which can hardly be right, Volkmann reads ἐνεργεῖ, and is followed in this by M. Bréhier. But ἐνεργεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνεργήσαντος is an odd expression. A better sense would be obtained by the still easier change to ἐνεργεῖα: 'νόσις generates (its object), without external stimulus (contrast ἐπακτοῦ) and by an activity (contrast ἔπαθεν), out of the very stuff of the active consciousness.'

IV. iv. 18. l. 13 Br. (Volk. II. 64. 23).

(Relation of the ego to the σκιὰ ψυχῆς [organic consciousness] which the body possesses.) οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτο ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς οὔτε καθαροὶ τούτου ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ ἐξήρτηται καὶ ἐκκρέμαται ἡμῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸ κύριον, ἡμῶν δὲ ἄλλως ὁμοίως τούτο.

The last clause is clearly corrupt, though Müller attempts to translate it. For ὁμοίως, ὁμως is apparently found as a correction in our oldest MS., Mediceus A, and as a supra-linear variant in F (in neither case are we told to what hand it is due); in several later MSS. it appears in the text, and it is accepted by M. Bréhier. But is not ὁ μ ω ν ὁ μ ω ς, 'equivocally,' the word required as an antithesis to κατὰ τὸ κύριον? Cf. VI. iii. 1 (Volk. II. 327. 11), where the sensible world is said to be οὐ συνώνυμον, ὁμώνυμον δὲ καὶ εἰκὼν of the intelligible; and Arist. *Meteor.* 389b 31 ὁ νεκρὸς ἄνθρωπος ὁμωνύμως. Being a technical term, and rare in Plotinus, ὁμωνύμως might well be glossed by ἄλλως. And for the same reason it would be easily misread, if written compendiously, as ὁμοίως (or ὁμως, if this be more than the conjecture of a renaissance scholar).

IV. iv. 22. l. 43 Br. (Volk. II. 70. 10).

(Has the earth perceptions? If so, how and what does it perceive? This raises the question whether perception is valuable as an end or only as a means. Plotinus continues) τοῦτο μὲν οὖν σκεπτέον ὕστερον· νῦν δὲ πάλιν, εἰ αἱ αἰσθήσεις τῇ γῇ, καὶ ζῴων τίνων αἱ αἰσθήσεις, καὶ πῶς.

ζῴων τίνων αἱ αἰσθήσεις has been taken in three ways: (i) by Müller as a subjective genitive, 'what organisms have perceptions?'; (ii) by M. Bréhier (if I rightly understand his rather loose version) as an objective genitive, 'what organisms does the earth perceive?'; (iii) by Mr. MacKenna as 'through what vital members does the earth perceive?' None of these renderings appears satisfactory. (iii) cannot be got from the Greek: even if ζῶα could mean 'vital members,' we should still require διὰ, the organ being regularly τὸ δι' οὗ: e.g. c. 22 l. 35 Br. τίνων οὖν αἱ αἰσθήσεις καὶ διὰ τίνων; c. 24 l. 21 τὸ μὲν δι' οὗ, τὸ δὲ οὗ ἡ αἰσθησις. These passages also tell against version (i): for in both the dependent genitive expresses the object, not the subject, of perception. In view of πάλιν, it seems almost certain that in the sentence under discussion τίνων αἱ αἰσθήσεις has the same meaning as at l. 35. But to ask 'what organisms does the earth perceive?' (version ii) is a new question, and a senseless one.

Read εἰ [αἰ] αἰσθήσεις τη γῇ, καὶ ζῶον, τίνων αἰ αἰσθήσεις, καὶ πῶς; 'If the earth has perceptions and is a ζῶον (as provisionally suggested at l. 16 above), what does it perceive (cf. l. 33), and how (cf. l. 28)?' The corruption came about through failure to apprehend the very characteristic ellipse of ἡ γῇ ἐστι.

IV. iv. 24. l. 6 Br. (Volk. II. 72. 15).

(Perception may be nature's device for warning us of the approach of danger.) ἡ καὶ μεμηχάνηται, ὅπως καὶ πρὶν μείζον γενέσθαι τὸ ποιοῦν, ὥστε καὶ φθείραι, ἡ καὶ πρὶν πλησίον γενέσθαι, φυλάξασθαι. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο, κτλ.

Müller tried to mend the broken construction of ὅπως by inserting <φυλάξωμεθα> after the first γενέσθαι. This is clumsy as well as improbable: wrenching ὥστε καὶ φθείραι from its natural connection with μείζον γενέσθαι, it yields the contorted construction ὅπως φυλάξωμεθα τὸ ποιοῦν πρὶν μείζον γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ φυλάξασθαι φθείραι ('uns vor einer verderblichen Wirkung in Acht nehmen') ἡ καὶ φυλάξασθαι πρὶν πλησίον γενέσθαι. M. Bréhier prefers to conjecture ὥστε for ὅπως. But this is almost equally improbable, and the double ὥστε is not pretty. It would be much easier and neater to insert <ῖ> at the end of the sentence, where, sandwiched between φυλάξασθαι and εἰ, it had an excellent chance of falling out.

IV. iv. 27 *init.* (Volk. II. 75. 13).

(How the earth communicates generative power to plants.) εἰ οὖν τοῖς φυτοῖς δίδωσι τὴν γεννητικὴν, ἡ αὐτὴν τὴν γεννητικὴν, ἡ ἐν αὐτῇ μὲν ἡ γεννητικὴ, ταύτης δὲ ἔχοντος ἡ ἐν τοῖς φυτοῖς. καὶ οὕτως ἂν εἴη ὡς ἡ σὰρξ ἑμψυχος ἦδη* καὶ ἐκομίσατο, εἰ ἔχει καὶ τὴν γεννητικὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰ φυτά.

Much ingenuity has been wasted on this blameless passage, which edd. print as a single sentence. Kleist proposed to delete τὴν γεννητικὴν after δίδωσι: Müller deleted ἡ αὐτὴν τὴν γεννητικὴν: Volkmann deleted τὴν γεννητικὴν, ἡ: M. Bréhier, to his credit, deletes nothing, but he reads αὐξητικὴν for the second γεννητικὴν. All that is needed is to point at φυτοῖς, as I have done above. Translate 'If then the earth communicates to plants their generative power, either it bestows the actual principle of generation or else this remains in the earth and the generative life of plants is no more than a trace of it. And even in the latter case (οὕτως) the plants would already be comparable to the living flesh of animals; while if they actually (καὶ) contain in themselves the principle of generation, the earth is still its ultimate source.' The alternatives are the same as those presented in the first sentence of chap. 22.

IV. iv. 31. l. 43 Br. (Volk. II. 83. 15).

(Even if the temperature of the stars under which a man is born may account for his temperament, it hardly explains the whole of his conduct. Plotinus continues) ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ταῦτα (sc. ἀνάγοι τις εἰς τὰ ἄστρα), τύχας γοῦν πῶς χείρους τε καὶ βελτίους, πλουσίους καὶ πένητας, καὶ πατέρων εὐγενείας ἡ αὐτῶν, θησαυρῶν τε εὐρέσεις;

Müller deleted ἡ αὐτῶν. Volkmann read ἡ αὐτῶν, and is followed by M. Bréhier (that this renders meaningless the τε after θησαυρῶν appears, very oddly, to have been overlooked by both of them). But the reading of the MSS. may be sound. That a man's own εὐγένεια may be mentioned side by side with his ancestors' is proved by Soph. *Phil.* 874 ἀλλ' εὐγενὴς γὰρ ἡ φύσις καὶ εὐγενῶν, 'you are a gentleman by nature and by birth.' So here πατέρων εὐγενείας may refer to the fact of noble breeding, αὐτῶν εὐγενείας to its effect on the character of the nobly bred. The two are distinct, but both are clearly independent of astral influences.

IV. iv. 33. l. 7 Br. (Volk. II. 86. 3).

(Plotinus illustrates by the similitude of a dance the manner in which the parts of the universe serve the purposes of the whole.) τὰ μὲν ἔξω πρὸς τὴν ὄρχησιν . . . τί ἂν τις λέγοι . . . ; ἀλλὰ τὰ μέρη τοῦ τὴν ὄρχησιν παρεχομένου καθ' ἕκαστον σχῆμα ἔξ

ἀνάγκης οὐκ ἂν ὡσαύτως δύναιτο ἔχειν, †τῶν μελῶν τοῦ σώματος ταύτῃ συνεπομένου καὶ καμπτομένου, ‡ καὶ πιεζομένου μὲν ἑτέρου, ἀνιεμένου δὲ ἄλλου, κτλ.

(i) Müller's λέγειν for ἔχειν (l. 13 Br.) seems in a fair way to become the *textus receptus*. Yet it is clearly wrong. After asking 'why need one describe X?', it is not logical, even if it were to the point, to continue 'but one could not describe Y in the same manner.' It is not to the point, however. The point is that not only do the dancers consciously subject themselves to the rhythm of the dance, whose law is constant change, but each limb of each dancer makes its ever-changing contribution to the pattern, now lifted high, now contorted or concealed or lowered to the dust (ll. 20-2), in obedience to the will of the whole (l. 18). Keep ἔχειν, and translate 'But the limbs (not "the rôle," as Bréhier) of the dancer cannot maintain the same posture in every figure.'

(ii) In the next clause all edd. since Kirchhoff alter συνεπομένου καὶ καμπτομένου into plurals, to agree with μελῶν. But if the μέλη here are (as they seem to be) the same as the μέρη of the main sentence, there is no need of a genitive absolute. It seems best to keep the singular participles, in agreement with σώματος, and regard τῶν μελῶν as a gloss (a correct and needed gloss) on the following series of genitives, ἑτέρου . . . ἄλλου . . . τοῦ μὲν . . . τοῦ δέ.

IV. iv. 35. l. 19 Br. (Volk. II. 89. 5).

(The similitude of the dance explained in terms of the μέγα ζῶον which is the cosmos.) καὶ τὰ μὲν σχήματα οἶον λόγους εἶναι ἢ διαστάσεις ζῶον καὶ ῥυθμούς καὶ σχήσεις ζῶον κατὰ λόγον, τὰ δὲ διεστηκότα καὶ ἐσχηματισμένα μέλη† ἄλλα‡. καὶ εἶναι τοῦ ζῶου δυνάμεις χωρὶς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἄλλας τὰς ὡς ζῶον μέρη, ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῖς ἔξω καὶ οὐ συντελοῦν πρὸς τοῦ ζῶου τοῦδε τὴν φύσιν. μία γὰρ ἡ προαίρεσις ἐνὸς ζῶου, αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις αἱ ἄλλαι αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸ πολλαί.

This passage presents several difficulties. (i) μέλη ἄλλα can hardly be right: for it can only mean 'other members' (not 'its various members,' as M. Bréhier and Mr. MacKenna); and this would imply that the σχήματα are in some sense 'members,' which is clearly not the case. Read μέλη· ἀλλὰ: 'the discrete elements of the pattern are limbs of the world-animal; but also . . .'

(ii) τὸ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτοῖς ἔξω can hardly mean 'the element of will is external to them' (Müller and M. Bréhier). Plotinus, like any other Greek, would have expressed this by ἔξω αὐτῶν. It ought to mean 'their element of will is external (to the nature of the ζῶον),' or 'extroverted'; and this is confirmed by what we are told later in the chapter, that the wills both of the universe as a whole and of the individual stars within it are directed upon something outside the universe, viz. αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθόν. αὐτοῖς must refer to τὰ διεστηκότα καὶ ἐσχηματισμένα (l. 21 Br.), not to ζῶον μέρη (l. 23 Br.) which if the text is sound are involuntary δυνάμεις (but possibly we should read τὰς <περὶ τὰς> ὡς ζῶον μέρη).

(iii) If this interpretation is right, M. Bréhier is mistaken in altering πρὸς αὐτὸ in the last sentence to πρὸς ἄλλο. The will of the world organism is directed upwards upon the Good; its other functions are αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτό—they are involuntary reactions of one part of the organism upon another. That αἱ δὲ δυνάμεις . . . πολλαί refers to the world organism, and not to organisms in general, is clear from the sentence following.

IV. iv. 40. l. 10 Br. (Volk. II. 95. 5).

(How magic works.) ὀλκῆς [Kirchhoff: ἄλκῃ, ἄλκῆς, ὀλκή codd.] ἐρωτικῆς διὰ γοητείας τέχνη [Kirchhoff: τέχνης codd.] γηγίνηται, προστιθέντων ἐπαφαῖς φύσεις ἄλλας ἄλλοις συναγωγὸς καὶ ἐγκείμενον ἐχούσας ἔρωτα.

The latter part of this sentence has been misunderstood. φύσεις cannot refer to persons, as M. Bréhier and (apparently) Müller take it: for συναγωγός does not mean

'naturellement lié' but 'capable of drawing other things together.' Nor can we render, with Mr. MacKenna, 'implant in others a new temperament, one favouring union': προστιθέναι is not ἐμποιεῖν. The φύσεις are the ingredients of love-philtres. Translate 'applying by contact to different persons different substances which have the power of drawing them together and have desire in their composition.' Plenty of specimens of this procedure are to be found in the magical papyri.

IV. iv. 42. l. 11 Br. (Volk, II. 96. 28).

(The parts of the physical universe influence each other involuntarily. Plotinus continues) καὶ τὸ πᾶν δὲ ὡσαύτως εἰς τὰ μέρη δίδωσι καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλκύσαντος ἄλλον εἰς μέρος τι αὐτοῦ †κείμενον τοῖς αὐτοῦ μέρεσι τῷ αὐτῷ φυσικῷ†, ὥς μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου τοῦ αἰτούντος ὄντος.

The words I have obelized are decidedly obscure. Müller makes κείμενον the object of ἐλκύσαντος, and renders 'weil ein anderes das, was seinen Theilen innewohnt, in einen Theil hineinzieht nach demselben natürlichen Gesetz.' But κείσθαι does not mean 'dwell in,' and τῷ αὐτῷ φυσικῷ is not possible Greek for 'by the same natural law.' M. Bréhier construes κείμενον with μέρος: 'soit que l'on attire cette influence sur une partie qui est une de ses propres parties, donc de la même nature'—a feeble sense even if it could be extracted from the Greek, which it clearly cannot. It is not apparent how Mr. MacKenna takes κείμενον, but he understands τῷ αὐτῷ φυσικῷ in the same way as Müller. I think we should read τρόπῳ φυσικῷ, refer κείμενον to τὸ πᾶν, and translate 'In like manner also the Whole bestows its gifts upon its parts, either spontaneously or when the gift is drawn by another's petition into some especial part; for the Whole is available in a natural manner to its own parts—which implies that the petitioner is no alien.' The meaning of κείμενον is fixed, as Mr. B. S. Page has pointed out to me, by a phrase which occurs a few lines further on (l. 18 Br.)—εἰ τις ἐλάβεν ἐκ τῶν πᾶσι κειμένων, 'from sources available to all.'¹ The corruption of τρόπῳ probably came about through the syllable τρο- being misread as τω (i.e. τῷ); in some minuscule hands the two are much alike.

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¹ If this is not accepted, the alternative is to read ἐγκείμενον, 'immanent in': cf. IV. iii. 13 l. 25 Br. ἐγκείται γὰρ ἐκάστῳ τὸ καθόλου.

NOTES ON THE *DE BENEFICIIS* OF SENECA.

THE page and line references given in parenthesis for passages discussed are to C. Hosius' second edition (Teubner, Leipzig, 1914). Much use has been made of the Gertz edition (Weidmann, Berlin, 1876) and of that of F. Préchac (Paris, *Les Belles Lettres*, Vol. I, 1926, Vol. II, 1927).

- 2, 11, 3 (28: 23): *ingratum me iudicas si istud te tacente nemo sciturus est.*

Read: *iudica[s]*, which fits the sense better and agrees with Seneca's fondness for the imperative mood as a form of dramatic expression.

- 2, 24, 2 (41: 4): *nec delicate accipiendum est nec submisce et humiliter; nam qui negligens est in accipiendo etc.*

Nothing in the sentence up to *nam* suggests the idea of neglect or indifference. Read: *nec submisce et humiliter* <necum neglegenter>. The adverb is Senecan; cf. Ep. 63, 9.

- 2, 34, 3 (48: 23): *fortitudo est virtus pericula iusta contemnens aut scientia periculorum repellendorum etc.*

A much vexed passage in which Hosius boldly prints the word *virtus* as though it were part of the established text. Actually there is a seeming gap at that point; to the suggestions for filling it as given in Hosius, app. crit. ad loc., add Bourgéry, *Sénèque Prosateur*, 416, f.n. 1: *fortitudo est pericula* <aiu> (i.e. *animus*) *iusta contemnens*.

Read: *fortitudo est* <peritia> *pericula iuste contemnens*, the *iuste* being Madvig's. Cf. the form of the description following: *parsimonia est scientia . . . aut ars etc.* Translate: 'courage is experience properly making light of dangers,' the Aristotelian view. If it is said by way of objection that *peritia* could not be denied to a gladiator, the answer must be that Seneca has at all events denied him *scientia*. Even Seneca found it hard to include anyone of servile condition within the general circle of humanity or to endow such persons with the usual attributes of men.

- 3, 26, 2 (69: 17): *quod factum simul et Maro ex notis illius temporis vestigiis notavit et servus eius, quod nectebantur insidiae, ei ebrio anulum extraxit. Et cum Maro etc.*

Préchac's objection to coupling *notavit* and *extraxit* ('nec satis enucleate per *simul* verbum sententiis et . . . *notavit*, et . . . *extraxit* coniunctis') seems well taken, but his elaborate conjecture becomes unnecessary if a full stop is placed after *insidiae*, and *Ei ebrio* made the beginning of the next sentence, which then continues through to *anulum*.

- 4, 13, 3 (92: 22): *mercator urbibus prodest, medicus aegris, mango venalibus.*

The last phrase seems out of keeping with the content of the thought in the succeeding *quia . . . veniunt* clause. The inhabitants of cities come voluntarily to merchants to do business with them, sick people of their own choice call in doctors to cure or relieve them, but surely slaves do not invite slave-dealers to sell them. Read: *mango venal* <es ement> *ibus*.

- 4, 38, 2 (114: 1): *litteras istas oculis inscribendas durissima fronte circumfer.*

That the passage as it stands was unintelligible to Madvig and himself Gertz testifies, p. 229. I venture to suggest: *oculis oïu* (i.e. *omnium*) *ser.*

vandas, that is, 'letters to be watched (studied or "marked") by the eyes of all.' With the loss of the *o* immediately following *oculis*, the residue of *oīu* plus *servandas*, became corrupted first into *inserbandas*, next into *inscribendas*. The use of the verb *inscribo*, inappropriate here, twice over in ch. 37 (3 and again in 4), may be looked on as having favoured the corruption.

- 5, 12, 2 (129: 5): quibus modo campus in quo vagentur, struendus est, modo creperi aliquid et confragosi obiciendum, per quod erepant et sollicito vestigium faciant.

The MS. consensus is *crebri*, Lipsius and the edd. *creperi*. But the examples assembled in the Thesaurus s.v. fail to provide any parallel for *creper* (or *creperus*?) used to describe natural scenery. For this reason and also the additional fact that *creper* is a very unusual word, not quoted from any author fairly comparable to Seneca in period or talent, Lipsius' conjecture appears very doubtful.

The combination that naturally suggests itself is *asper* aliquid et *confragosi*, as in Livy 5, 26, 5. The word *asper* used of rugged scenery occurs several times in Seneca, as Dial. 12, 6, 4; N.Q. 4, 2, 3; Benef. 5, 24, 1. In Ep. 53, 4 it is used in combination with the verb *erepo* which follows immediately in the present passage. I believe that the difficulty goes back to an original *asper* where the *s* was omitted by accident and the Lombard *a* resembled, as it often does, the letters *cr*. Against this strange *creperi* the guess *crebri* was noted in the margin or above the text-line, and had got into the text by the time N was copied.

- 5, 14, 3 (131: 23): ea scilicet ratione, quia ipsum, quod accepit, beneficium non erat, sed vocabatur; qui accipiet ab illo aliquid ex his quae apud imperitos sunt, quorum et malis copia est, ipse quoque in simili materia gratus esse debebit.

In this difficult passage, which in my judgment Gertz's transposition (adopted by Hosius) of the words *ipsum . . . vocabatur* has still further confused, I follow Préchac's interpretation, including his acceptance of Madvig's <*in pretio*> after *imperitos* and before *sunt*, but I place a semicolon after *sunt*, and retain *si* of the MSS. in the sense of *quod* as commonly in Seneca (Bourgéry, *Sénèque Prosateur*, 388, f.n. 1). My interpretation is: 'he will accept from him (the *malus*) something of those things held in esteem by the ignorant; because the wealth of evil men consists of these things, he too will have to exhibit his gratitude in like material.' This is precisely the argument of the rest of the chapter.

- 6, 2, 2 (145: 19): itaque cum eripis, ipsa rerum natura revocare, quod dedit, non potest.

Gertz postulates a lacuna after *eripis*. Préchac devises an all too ingenious double omission: itaque cum <*eripis materiam, non*> eripis <*ipsam rem*>. Ipsa rerum natura etc. To me the reading as retained by Hosius is impossible. I suggest: itaque cum eripit ipsa rerum natura, revocare etc. which I translate: 'therefore when the nature of the universe itself snatches away (a benefit), it cannot call back what it gave.' The impossibility of recalling the essence of a benefit has been under discussion; Seneca takes, according to my view of the arrangement of words in the text, the extremest possible case, namely, where the very universe snatches back the benefit it had bestowed.

W. H. ALEXANDER.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. LIV. 1. January-March, 1933.

R. J. Getty, *Insomnia in the Lexica*. Maintains that the true meaning of *insomnium* is *ὕπνα* or even *vigilia*, and that the meaning 'dream' was first given to it in literature by Pliny, who took it from the *sermo cottidianus*. H. C. Nutting, *The History of the Cum Construction*. Discusses the modern attitude to this problem, and enters a protest against over-rigid classification. W. Schwahn, *Die älteste attische Kleruchie*. Examines the various provisions of the 'Salamis' decree, and argues (1) that τοὺς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι οἰκοῦντας must refer, not to natives of the island, but to Athenian citizens settled there, (2) that the measure belongs to the year 507/6 B.C. C. W. Peppler, *Durative and Aoristic*. Collects a number of instances to illustrate the differences in meaning and usage between these two types of tense, and pleads for the restoration of the present that has been removed from certain passages (e.g. *Vesp.* 842, *Nub.* 945). T. Frank, *On Some Financial Legislation in the Sullan Period*. Seeks to show that the *Lex Unciaria* of 88 B.C. was primarily a measure to give immediate relief to debtors (by cancelling ten per cent. of their obligations) and that it was passed in the interest of the landed classes. H. N. Couch, *On Ar.* *Nub.* 1161-2. Calls the passage a 'composite reminiscence' of *Agamemnon* vv. 896-901, 607-8, and 966-72, finding in it a parody of situation rather than of mere words. G. S. Lane, *A Note on Sanskrit kakṣa*. Holds that the primitive meaning is not 'arm-pit' but 'groin.' G. S. Lane, *Two Slavic Etymologies*. Suggests (1) the root *(e) *reu* (J.E. **er*-) for the Ch.Sl. *rūtŭ*, etc., and (2) **skēp-* for the Slavic *skapŭ*. R. M. Haywood, *On Cic. Att. vi. 1. 19 and vi. 5. 2*. Emends both passages on the assumption that the same sum of money is dealt with in both, one being stated in *HS*, the other in *minae*. E. G. Sihler, *Anecdota Concerning Gottfried Hermann*. A personal reminiscence of an old pupil's account of this scholar's working methods.

Classical Philology. XXVIII. 3. July, 1933.

G. L. Hendrickson, *The Memoirs of Rutilius Rufus*: suggests that R.'s judgments on rhetoric may be recovered from Cic. *De Orat.* 225 sqq. and *Brut.* 85 sqq., and that Cic. derived them from R.'s Greek work, which took the form of personal memoirs and superseded his Latin *De Vita Sua*. A. C. Schlesinger, *The Ins and Outs of the Three-Actor Rule*: concludes that the existence of the rule in fifth-century tragedy cannot be proved by any evidence from exits and entrances in extant plays. M. M. Odgers, *Quintilian's Use of Earlier Literature*: Cicero and Virgil head the list of Q.'s references and citations: he uses Latin literature much more than Greek and rarely actually quotes Greek except for technical terms. H. H. Hubbell, *A Grammatical Papyrus*: examines *Pap. Yale 446*, a grammatical *τέχνη* written by a school-boy, which may be as early as the middle of the first century A.D., and suggests that it is an abridgment of the teaching of Comanus, opposed to that of Aristarchus, and that C. is to be identified with the courtier-statesman mentioned by Polybius. Paul Shorey, *The Origin of the Syllogism Again*: expands and defends his article in *C.P.* XIX. 1-19 in answer to criticisms by E. de Strycker. Philip Harsh argues for assigning Menand. *Perikeir.* 171 sqq. to Davus and not to Doris: his remaining on stage after 163 is not technically objectionable and his presence is needed to give point to 183 sqq.,

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while the oath in 172 should be spoken by a man. C. H. Stearn explains Arist. *Birds* 507 as a formula dismissing Jews (who were probably among the Athenian slave-population) from festivals which were barred to them. Paul Shorey suggests that the point of Cic. *Att.* 16. 5. 15 *si quisquam male intellegit* may have been derived from [Plat.] II *Alcib.* 147c. L. R. Lind on Nonnus *Dion.* 12: 152 accepts Cumaeus' ἐνναέτης as a reference to Thespis and a rustic play on the story of Ampelos. G. B. A. Fletcher supplements Clementi's bibliography of *Pervig. Ven.* and adds some parallel passages.

Hermathena. XLVII. (pubd. 1933).

W. S. Maguiness analyses and illustrates the methods and formulae of the Latin Panegyrist, all of whom except Pliny on Trajan belong to the fourth century, or the closing years of the third. G. A. Duncan gives a general account of what is now known of Athenian Public Finance in the fifth century B.C. He admits his obligations to Andreades (Professor at the University of Athens), whose *History of Greek Public Economy* is so far available only in its Greek edition. J. Johnston argues that in their electrum coinage the Cyzicenes in the fifth century possessed an 'international managed currency.' In the fifth century the electrum coins of Cyzicus were relegated to the position of a token currency, kept at par with a monometallic silver standard currency by artificial regulation in essentially the same way as twenty shillings are kept at parity with the pound. The fifth-century Greeks used Cyzicene staters (25 per cent. credit instruments) where we would use Bills of Exchange. W. H. Porter argues that the date of Aratus' capture of Sicyon is 256 or 255. Adopting Beloch's argument that Aratus was born in 275, P. points out that Plutarch nevertheless maintains he was but a μεράκιον when he delivered Sicyon, which implies an age of about twenty. As Cavaignac has pointed out, this date (256 or 255) alone will account for Plutarch's assertion twice repeated (*Arat.* 41 and *Cleom.* 16) that Aratus had been thirty-three years in public life when Antigonus Doson accepted his invitation to Peloponnesus. P. adds some further evidence pointing to the same conclusion. W. B. Stanford on Virg. *Georg.* I 360 ff.: incipiunt . . . litora misceri et nemorum increbescere murmur | iam sibi tum curvis male temperat unda carinis|, for the words in italics proposes and defends the reading *iam subitum, curvis* etc. C. B. Phipps, writing on *Persecution under Marcus Aurelius*, argues that the successive developments of Montanist ideas in Gaul, Phrygia, and Africa caused the local persecutions of the Christian church in these countries. F. R. M. Hitchcock traces by means chiefly of parallel passages the literary affinities between the *Confession* and *Epistle* of St. Patrick and Irenaeus, Cyprian and Orientius. M. Esposito contributes *Notes on Latin Learning and Literature in Medieval Ireland*. O. Hosgood on Prop. 1. 16. 8 Te non ulla meae laesit petulantia linguae | quae solet irato dicere tota loco|, for the corrupt second line suggests 'quae solet irato dicere *Sota* ioco.' *Sota* (Σωτᾶς), a hypocoristic form of Sotades (Ennius wrote a book so named).

Mnemosyne LX. 4, (pubd. 1933).

Annotations, mainly critical, are contributed on Epictetus and on Plutarch's *Moralia* by A. J. Kronenberg; on Ennius (Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae*, 1903), and on Lucilius (ed. Marx, Teubner 1903) by C. Brakman; and finally on Walz' *Nicephorus*, Vol. i. by S. Peppink (in which he illustrates the negligence shown by the editor in dealing with this particular author). W. G. Blake, *Euripidis Baccharum interpretatio secundum versus* 877-881, refers to the passage, τί τὸ σοφὸν; ἢ τί τὸ κάλλιον | παρὰ θεῶν γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς | ἢ χεῖρ' ὑπὲρ κορυφᾶς | τῶν ἐχθρῶν κρείσσω κατέχειν; | ὃ τι καλὸν φίλον αἰεί. So with practically no difference of punctuation both Murray

(Oxford) and Prinz-Wecklein. B. however objects (1) to the grammatical construction, *τί τὸ κάλλιον γέρας ἢ χεῖρα κατέχειν*; and (2) to the apparent irrelevance of the last line (which is an echo of Theognis). He proposes to read *τί τὸ σοφὸν ἢ τί τὸ . . . γέρας ἐν βροτοῖς; ἢ χεῖρ, ὑπὲρ κ. . . κατέχειν; ὃ τι καλὸν φίλον δέι*. 'Is it man's greatest prize to triumph over his foe? (No) 'Tis honour that is ever dear'; the abruptness of the last sentence being excused by the fact of its being a quotation. H. J. Rose, *De Lupis, Lupercis, Lupercalibus*, asks (1) to what deity was the festival offered; (2) who performed it; (3) with what ritual; and (4) with what object. He concludes (1) that as ancient authors differ about the deity there was probably in early times no deity at all, but the ritual was *magical*. (2) There were probably two *gentes* only occupying in early days the Palatine hill, who practised exogamy, marrying with one another. They were not of the same race, 'Quinctillii' being a Latin form (otherwise it would have been 'Pumpillii'), while the title 'Luperci' was derived from people not speaking a Latin dialect (else it should have been Luquerci). (3) The sacrifice was of a goat and a dog. The ceremonies imply that the young men participating in the rite *become* he-goats. Dogs are known to have been sacrificed in early times both at Rome and Iguvium as expiatory offerings. (4) The purpose of the ritual was apotropaic: the participants ran originally round the little town on the Palatine, thereby rearing a magic wall which shut out wolves, i.e. everything harmful (including sterility, whence the striking of men and women whom they met), and retaining within the town everything good. R. J. Dam, *De M. Apro* (Tac. *Dial.*, 2), argues against the reading of Vahlen '. . . contemnebat literas . . . tamquam maiorem <quam> industriae et laboris gloriam habiturus si ingenium eius nullis alienarum artium adminiculis inniti videretur', on the ground that Aper's character showed that of Quintilian's three requirements for an orator, *natura doctrina studium*, it was not *studium* but *doctrina* only that Aper professed to disdain. S. Peppink, *De Autographis Eustathianis cum Codice Suidae Comparatis*, shows that codex Marcianus 448 containing Suidas' Lexicon is in the same handwriting as Marcianus 460, which Cardinal Bessarion noted as being in the handwriting of Eustathius himself. But 448 is full of childish errors. Hence (according to P.) Bessarion was misinformed when he stated that 460 was in Eustathius' handwriting. F. Müller, *Ad Ciceronis in Verrem Orationem* V § 66, proposes to emend the sentence 'Ipse autem triumphus quam ob rem omnium †triumphorum gratissimus populo R. fuit et iucundissimus?' by changing 'triumphorum' to 'proeliorum' (= pliorum, then phonum, hence omnium triumphorum). S. Peppink, *Ad Aristophanem*, argues that Zacher was wrong in holding that cod. Marc. 475 was a copy of the famous Venetus 474. He adds an account of some neglected readings in the former. Brief notes on the *Carmen Aureum*, on Macrobian *Sat.* 1, 18, 12 and on *C.I.L.* xiii. 10027, 221.

Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung. IX. 1-3. 1933.

(1) H. Fränkel, *Über philologische Interpretation am Beispiel von Caesars gallischem Kriegs.* An analysis of Caesar's style and method, emphasizing his habit of conducting his narrative in a single line composed of two strands, which express alternately his own point of view and that of his chief opponent of the moment: everything else, however important, is made secondary to this central line. G. Neckel, *Das Klassische im germanischen und hellenischen Altertum.* Insists on the resemblance and the community of origin of the Greek character and Greek beliefs with those of early Germany and Scandinavia, but not with those of Ireland, and argues against the ascription to Graeco-Roman or Christian influence of the more 'classical' developments of early Northern prose and poetry. (2) D. Willers, *Der Aufbau der aristotelischen Politik.* While accepting Jaeger's view, that books 1 and 4-6 are later than 2, 3, 7, 8, Willers insists that these two blocks are fundamentally consistent

in outlook. (3) W. Schadewaldt, *Die Neuauflage von Bismarcks 'Erinnerung und Gedanke' und die klassische Philologie*. Schadewaldt analyzes the process by which Bismarck's memoirs are now known to have been created, and draws analogies with Caesar and still more with Thucydides.

IX. 4, 5. 1933.

5, G. Neckel, *Die Herkunft der Runenschrift*. Denies that runes are derived either from Greek or from Latin alphabets, and argues that they are an Indogermanic invention of vast antiquity, and the parent of Egyptian and Phoenician scripts. E. Burck, *Die Kunst Menanders und ihre Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der Komödie*. A sympathetic study of Menander's art, emphasizing his services in defining the proper scope of domestic comedy and in deepening and revivifying inherited types.

Philological Quarterly (Iowa). XII. 3. 1933.

W. L. Schramm, *Campion, Horace and Catullus*. Collects a number of imitations not noticed in P. Vivian's edition of *Campion*.

Philologus. LXXXVIII. (N.F. XLII) 2. 1933.

W. Peek, *Korkyraische und kretische Epigramme*. Examines inscriptional epigrams from Corfu and Crete and offers readings differing from those of Dittenberger, etc.; adds some hitherto unedited ones. E. Birmelin, *Die kunsttheoretischen Gedanken in Philostrats Apollonios*. Philostratus' sources not, as he claims, Maximus of Aegae or Damis but genuine letters of Apollonius. These contain no aesthetic matter; such matter is P.'s own contribution. B. examines Platos', Aristotle's and P.'s theories of *μίμησις* and finds that P.'s = Aristotle's (*to be continued*). F. Mentz, *Die klassischen Hundenamen (continued)*. Takes his *catalogue raisonné* from *Διάβης* to *Ψόφαξ*. K. Barwick, *Das Kultlied des Livius Andronicus*. Supports Cichorius (against Weinstock and others) in holding that the *carmen* of 246 B.C. mentioned by Verrius Flaccus (Pseud. Acron. to Hor. c. s. 8) was written by Andronicus. Varro is right as against Accius in dating A.'s first play as 240 (or 239) rather than 197 B.C. J. Stroux, *Die stoische Beurteilung Alexanders des Grossen*. Notes the unhistorical and unpsychological nature of even the early judgements on A.'s character. The Peripatetics attributed his vices to his *summa potentia*, the Stoics to early bad education by Leonidas. MISZELLEN: H. Hepding, *Zu dem Aufsatz ΠΟΥΦΙΝΙΟΝ ΑΛΣΟΣ*. Further notes on the excavations at Pergamum of the Asclepieum (cf. *Philologus* LXXXVIII. 1. pp. 90-103).

LXXXVIII. (N.F. XLII.) 3. 1933.

E. Schwartz, *Zweisprachigkeit in den Konzilsakten*. The Isodore decretals, which S. would call the *Corpus Canonum Romanorum I*, were originally written in Greek and Latin. The Greek text later disappeared. L. Wenger, *Superficies solo cedit*. Examines a legal papyrus (Teht. pap. III. 1. no. 780) which exemplifies the Roman legal principle of *superficies solo cedit* and confirms it as being a part of *ius naturale*. K. Latte, *Zu dem neuen Sophronfragment*. Re-edits and comments on the frag. first published by Norsa and Vitelli in *Stud. ital.* n. s. X, 1933. The rite is performed to Hecate, and this mime, like the others, is a monologue. R. Pfeiffer, *Ein Epodenfragment aus dem Iambenbuche des Kallimachos*. Produces external and internal evidence for the attribution of the new papyrus fragment (first published by Norsa and Vitelli in *Atene e Roma*, III 1, 1933) to Callimachus and not Archilochus, as N. and V. hold. Supposes that in the article in the *Et. gen.* which cites l. 3 as from Archilochus, Archilochus is a mistake for Callimachus. J. Stroux, *Die Constitutio Antoniniana*. A new reading and interpretation of Pap. Giss. 40 as = the *constitutio*

Antonin. S.'s main divergence from other editions to be found in ll. 6 and 9. D. Schäfer, *Zu den ptolemäischen ΠΙΣΤΕΙΣ*. Notes on the exact meaning of these Egyptian (Hellenistic) safe conduct guarantees and of the similar Byzantine λόγοι ἀσφαλείας. R. Uhden, *Das Erdbild in der Tetrabiblos des Ptolemaios*. Postulates a Persian-Arabian source for Pt.'s geographical writings. F. Solmsen, *Die Theorie des Staatsformen bei Cicero de repub.* I. Examines Scipio's speech in §§ 42-69 and concludes that Cic.'s source was the Τριπολιτικός of Dicaearchus. MISZELLEN: K. Praechter, *Heraklit Fragm. 51 D. und die Aristoteleskommentatoren*. The tertium comparationis of ῥόγον καὶ λύρης is the horns of, respectively, the bow and lyre. Simplicius throws light on this where in *Categ.* 412, 20 et sqq. he says that the followers of H. denied the possibility of an independently real existence to either member of a logical antithesis.

Revue de Philologie. LIX. 1. 1933.

P. Fabia, *Tite Live XXV, 24, 1*, argues that *cum ceterae <copiae> admotae* is not to be expunged; *euadebant* has as subject either *mille armatorum* or some members only of the *ceterae copiae*. M. Niedermann, *Contributions à la critique et à l'explication de textes latines*: Cato, *de agricultura* prooem. 1: text is sound; *est* = 'it is a fact that'; later punctuate *nunc ut ad rem redeam, quod promisi institutum, principium hoc erit.* 1. 1 ff. *ubi eo introeas.* 107. 1. *iris aridae [contusae] [he] minam et sertam Campanicam P.V. bene odoratam una [cum iri] contundas.* Caesar *B.G.* I 42. 5 *quod ei maxime.* Celsus: some passages of *de medicina* were copied in the sixth-century Latin translation of Oribasius. They have been disregarded by editors, though at times alone having the true text of desperate passages. *C.I.L.* II 5181 *rutramina = ruderamina*; III 14014 *en emmimoriam = in in-memoriam*; X 478 *sincerae = sincere* abl. sing. of *sinceris*. *C.G.L.* II 179. 33 and elsewhere *scalpium, scalpum, sculpum* are genuine, not errors for *scalprum*; II 596. 39 read *uerticulum*; III 484. 10 read *quactiliarius* (i.q. *coacti*-) *πυλοποιός*; III 544. 61 read *coromigon* (<κρόμμον>); III 552. 37 cf. Pliny, *N.H.* 21. 54; III 555. 39 read *cyclaminos id est orbicularia*; III 601. 18 read *farcimen*. P. Collart, *Les papyrus de l'Iliade* (contd.). One cannot then believe that the vulgate was the predominant pre-Alexandrian text. After 150 B.C. the papyri approximate to our vulgate. This is a text cleared of a great number of superfluous lines, even of lines allowed by the Alexandrian critics, but containing very few of their peculiar readings. This suggests book-sellers' texts, the work of men who knew that their public, while understanding that scholarship removed interpolated additions, had no interest in finer points of Homeric vocabulary and grammar. Division into books appears in first century B.C. Stichometry. L. Laurand, *Sur l'évolution de la langue et la style de Cicéron*, illustrates changes in Cicero's vocabulary by specimen passages. P. Henry, *Pour un lexique de Plotin, recherches de style et de vocabulaire sur Enn.* IV. 7. 6. 3-11; criticism of other translators followed by repunctuation, interpretation, and translation.

Rivista di Filologia. N.S. XI. (1933) 1.

G. De Sanctis, *Intorno al razionalismo di Ecateo*. The author discusses Herodotus' treatment of Heracles, Dionysus and Pan, which he finds to be derived from Hecataeus. Hecataeus probably duplicated Dionysus and Pan, recognizing a god and a hero of each name, as he certainly did Heracles. De S. detects traces of Hecataeus in Pausanias IX, 29, 2 and 30, 4. His rationalism did not deny the supernatural and amounted to no more than a rejection or re-interpretation of the less credible myths—a method suggested by his knowledge of non-Greek tradition. E. Bignone, *Nuove ricerche e testimonianze sulla prima dottrina e sulle opere perdute di Aristotele attraverso gli scritti degli Epicurei*. After sketching the history of the logical scepti-

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cism combated by Diogenes of Oenoanda, the writer argues that Plato is exposed to this attack. If so, the Aristotle included among the sceptics is rightly named. This is confirmed by a consideration of Colotes. The source of this theme is probably the criticism of Aristotle by Epicurus himself. (To be concluded.) G. M. Lattanzi, *La figura di Favorino d'Arelate e due orazioni contestate a Dione Crisostomo*. Wilamowitz did an injustice to F. by confining himself to the evidence of Polemon: a truer account is to be got from Gellius and Philostratus. The *περὶ φυγῆς* supports the claim of F. to the *Corinthiacus* and the *περὶ τύχης*. M. A. Levi, *La spedizione scitica di Dario*. An examination, and rejection, of the theory that the Scythian expedition was preparatory to an invasion of the Balkan Peninsula. Its purpose was to make the Black Sea a Persian lake, and the Persian interest in Greece possibly only began with its failure. Miscellanea. I. Q. Cataudella, *Ancora sul 'Pap. Heidelberg' κατὰ αἰσχροκερδέας*. New readings suggested partly by Gregory of Nazianzus and partly by Vitelli. II. Q. Cataudella, *Ios. 'c. Apion.'* I, 189. For *διαφορὰν* read *διφθέραν*, comparing *Ant. Iud.* 12, 89. III. P. Künzle, *Sopra un epigramma alessandrino*. Interprets the text published by W. Peek in *Bull. Soc. royale d'arch. d'Alexandrie*, N.S. VIII, 1932, pp. 53 ff., and holds it to support the claim that Callimachus, *Ep.* XV. is sepulchral. IV. S. Ferri, *Sull' iscrizione greca di Enna*. The inscription printed by M. Guarducci in *Not. Scavi*, 1931, pp. 389 ff. is really complete, and reads ἀρχός| δάμ(ος)| ἐνναίων. V. M. Guarducci, *Replica sull' iscrizione di Enna*. It cannot be complete, because it makes no sense. The writer proposes . . .] ἀρχος| [τοῦ δαίμονος| Δαμ.] [ἐνερ] 'Ενναίων, comparing *I.G.* XIV, 421 f. and 427 (Taormina) for Δαμ. VI. A. Rostagni, *Stat., 'Silv.'* II, 2, 121-26. The passage is inspired by Lucretius, and the Epicurean connection suggests 'tupho sublimior omni' in line 125. *Recensioni. Note bibliografiche. Cronache e commenti. Pubblicazioni ricevute.*

N.S. XI. (1933) 2.

F. Cumont, *L' iniziazione di Nerone da parte di Tiridate d' Armenia*. In A.D. 66 the Mazdaist Tiridates not only initiated Nero into the mysteries of his religion but also went through a ceremony in which Nero played Mithras to Tiridates' Sun. To certain Asiatics this implied a Messianic rôle for Nero, which may explain the closing of the Temple of Janus and the prestige of Nero in Asia. The proceedings also show that the Arsacids were not, like the Sassanids, orthodox in their Zoroastrianism. E. Bignone, *Nuove ricerche e testimonianze sulla prima dottrina e sulle opere perdute di Aristotele attraverso gli scritti degli Epicurei* (concluded). The esoteric works of Aristotle were probably no longer accessible in the time of Colotes, and this will explain his attitude. Socrates, Plato and the Peripatetics are again grouped as sceptics by Arcesilaus (*Cic., Acad.* II, 5, 14). The writer then traces the effects of the interests of the Hellenistic age on its logical theory: scientific advance discouraged scepticism. Finally he defends Cephisodorus against the criticism of Numenius (*Eus., Praep. ev.* XIV, 6, 732b). The cause of confusion throughout is failure to recognize that the Academic and Peripatetic periods in the history of Aristotle's thought are distinct. C. Gallavotti, *Nuove HYPOTHESEIS di drammi euripidei*. This is the first publication of a papyrus of the late second century A.D. containing large parts of *hypotheses* of the *Rhesus*, the *Rhadamanthus* and the *Scyrii*. The author briefly discusses the two lost plays and suggests that *hypotheses* of the type to which these belong were perhaps the work of Dicaearchus. A. Rostagni, *I nuovi frammenti di commenti agli AITIA e la polemica letteraria di Callimaco*. This is a minute examination of the scholia from Oxyrhynchus published by M. Norsa and G. Vitelli in *Bull. Soc. arch. d'Alexandrie*, no. 28. The author seeks to show that Asclepiades, Posidippus and Praxiphanes are named together because they had all dealt with the poetry of Antimachus, that one of the Dionysii mentioned is Dionysius of Phaselis,

that Apollonius—who is chiefly meant by the 'Telchines' of *P. Oxy.* 2079—appeared in line 11 of the new text, and that all the evidence is satisfied by the view that *P. Oxy.* 2079 belongs to the Prologue of the *Αἴτια*—now seen to have taken the form of recollections of youth—as written about 270 B.C. G. Funaioli, *Sul nuovo Carme secolare dell' anno 204 d. Cr.* The author first discusses some points of prosody and then deals with the restoration of the very fragmentary text—which was published by P. Romanelli in *Not. Scavi*, 1932, pp. 313 ff. *Miscellanea.* I. M. Segre, *Pap. Gr. Vindob.* 31954. This is really part of the alleged will of Alexander, to be read—with an addition—in Pseudo-Call. III, 33, 11 ff. (Kroll). II. G. De Sanctis, *Postilla.* The addition, which is also lacking in the Latin of Julius Valerius, shows that his Greek text, like that of the new fragment, was earlier than a re-working which cannot be put later than the middle of the last century B.C. III. M. Guarducci, *Epigraphica.* Notes on (i) *S.E.G.* II, 509 f.; (ii) an inscription from Gortyn previously published by the writer in *Riv. del R. Ist. d' Arch. e Storia dell' Arte*, III, p. 25 f. n. 5, which throws some light on *S.G.D.I.* 5127; (iii) *I.G.* XII, 3, 254, where *ὅκα τ]δ̣ δεύτερον* should be read in line 7, which is relevant to the interpretation of *S.G.D.I.* 5031; (iv) *I.G.* XII, 5, 840; (v) note 1 in Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* II, p. 306; and (vi) *I.G.* VII, 4127, of the late third century, which compels a correction of the writer's statement (*Rivista*, 1932, pp. 84 ff.) that the phrase *ἄρχοντες καὶ σύνεδροι* is nowhere found before the Roman age. *Recensioni.* *Note bibliografiche.* *Cronache e commenti.* *Pubblicazioni ricevute.*

LANGUAGE.

Indogermanische Forschungen. L., Heft 4. 1932.

E. Hofmann and A. Debrunner discuss the question of an international auxiliary language from the philologist's standpoint. M. Runes derives *ποταμός* from *πέτομαι* (rather than from *πετάννυμι*). F. Brender points out that the participle *demens* (*ἀπ. λεγ.*) yielded to the homophone *demens* (adj.) and hence went out of use. M. Runes, *θεόπροπος: πρέπω* 'make clear,' cf. *docere: decet* for the meaning. J. Gondo enumerates examples from Javanese and other dialects illustrative of the transition of meaning from 'let go, send' to 'create, breed' common in I.-Eu. E. Hermann on dissimilation and differentiation. H. Frisk in a note on verbs out of construction introducing enumerations justifies a papyrus text. O. Lagercrantz derives *ἀμιχθαλόεις* from *ἀμικτος* and *θάλος*, *θάλλω*, hence *εὐδαίμων*. H. Krahe: O.H.G. *-unniō-* from *-ubniō-*, cf. *Dalguðnii* (Tac., G. 34), *Δουλγοῦμνιοι* (Ptol., 2. 11. 9). W. Krogmann, O.H.G. *müstro* 'uespertilio' from *mūs* 'mouse' and *-tro-*, cf. Skt. *aśvatarā-*, Lat. *matertera*, and perhaps Lat. *porcetra*, while *fledaremüstro* is for *fledarmūs* crossed with *müstro*. A. Senn, Lith. *šmičkė* 'whiskey, spirits,' properly a family-name, i.e. 'Schmidtschen-Destillation' ('Korn-schnaps'). Reviews of books. Indices.

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